

**HOUSE OF SHIVAJI AND
KARNATAKA (1636 - 1707 AD.)**

**A
THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE UNIVERSITY OF PUNE, PUNE**

**BY
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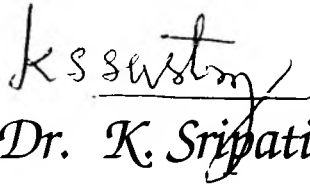
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Certificate

Certified that the work incorporated in the thesis, House of Shivaji and Karnataka 1636-1707 AD, by Mrs. Sushama Ashok Arur was carried out by the candidate under my supervision. Such material as has been obtained from other sources has been duly acknowledged in the thesis.


Dr. K. Sripati Sastry.

Pune.

P R E F A C E

One of the fascinating studies in the annals of Maratha history is the relation between the House of Shivaji and the Kannada country, though comparatively neglected. Much material has surfaced since the *History of the Marathas*, by *Grant Duff* was published. Many learned men of letters and academicians have contributed towards the better understanding of the subject. *Bakhars* (Marathi Biographies), new records at Goa and Jaipur, works in English, French and Portuguese all provided new material & bridged gaps. **M.G.Ranade** brought out the true Shivaji as a person with a National outlook. **Rajwade, Prof. Sardesai** and several other researchers have made valuable contributions and have made valuable contribution and have explored original sources for the study of Maratha History.

The History of the Marathas from the time of Shahaji, as a powerful member of the Adil Shahi, to the fall of the Maratha empire, compiled with all the available sources in different parts of the Country, in different languages makes an organic whole. But the period is vast. The time at my disposal is limited and the material is too scattered, that I was constrained to attempt a part of the story rather than the whole.

The importance the period carried in the emergence of “*Swarajya*” resulted in continuous research and loose ends have remained. Shivaji got all his inspiration from his father whose domicile in Karnataka under Adilshahis provided political background. Hence I have explored the influence of Karnataka on the House of Shivaji and in various dimensions through Kannada literary sources, inscriptions and Maratha monuments in Karnataka revealed information hitherto not known.

My topic “The House of Shivaji and Karnataka 1636-1707 A.D” brings out this aspect. The period 1636 signifies the entry of Shahaji in Karnataka under Adilshahi of Bijapur and the narrative continues with the activities of Shahaji, Shivaji, Sambhaji and Rajaram till 1707 A.D, when Shahu, the legitimate heir to the House of Shivaji was released following the death of Aurangzeb.

The regular movement of people from Maratha country to Karnataka after the downfall of the Yadavas is revealed from epigraphical and literary sources. Since then the Marathas penetrated into Northern Karnataka, comprising of *Bijapur, Belgaum, Dharwad* and *North Kanara* district of the present Karnataka state. The Marathas spread into *Carnatic* too. ‘Carnatic’ has been the geographical area referred to in most of the seventeenth century documents, which includes the Eastern part of Karnataka state and parts of Tamilnad too, (Districts of Arcot, Jingi, Tanjore, and Madurai). However I have restricted my area of research to the present political state of Karnataka. In order to maintain continuity of events I have dealt with Maratha activities outside Karnataka purely as reference points.

My thesis is mainly based on inscriptions and monuments, which are found in the form of palaces, temples and sculptures to reconstruct the history of the Marathas in Karnataka. Important inscriptions relating to Mysore - Maratha relations have been published in *Epigraphia Carnatica* Vol I to XII edited by B.L. Rice, Mysore. There are a good number of inscriptions of Shahaji and his sons (Sambhaji I and Vyankoji) and grandson (Sambhaji II, son of Shivaji) scattered in Kolar, Doddaballapur, Bangalore districts of Karnataka. These various inscriptions tell us about the administration of the Marathas in their *jagir* in Karnataka. Some of the inscriptions throw light on the help rendered by the people of Chitradurga for the Maratha cause and their suffering at the hands of Aurangzeb. *Karnataka Inscriptions* Volume VI, edited by B.R. Gopal

speaks about the appointment of administrative officers by Shivaji, in North Karnataka, which was one of his Mahal - an administrative division. Annual reports of the Archaeological survey of Mysore, *Historical inscriptions of Southern India* edited by Robert Sewell and S.K. Aiyangar, *Bombay Karnataka inscriptions* Vol IV edited by G.S. Gai inform us about the death of Shahaji and give us details of his administration. They also describe the course of Maratha, expansion in northern Karnataka and in Tamilnad.

The Maratha monuments which are found in Karnataka throw a flood of light on the relations between the Maratha rulers and their counterparts in Karnataka. The *Samadhi* (Tomb) of *Shahaji* in *Hodiegere*, *Shimoga* district, the sculptural panels of *Shivaji* and *Mallamma of Belavadi*, found at *Yadwad* near *Dharwar*, the *Parvati* and *Subramanya* temple of *Bidnur*, *Shimoga* district, supposed to be built by *Rajaram*, the *Aramanekoppa*, the hiding place of *Rajaram*, on his escape journey and the sculpture of *Rajaram* with *Keladi Chennamma* at *Keladi* and the several sculptures of Maratha soldiers and officers on horse back, on the *Nandipavilion*, in the outskirts of *Bidnur* fort. All this evidences goes to suggest not only the good accord of the Maratha and Karnataka rulers, but their activities in Karnataka. These sources primary in nature have been supplemented by literary sources of the contemporary period.

The Kannada sources like “*Kanthirava Narasaraja Vijayam*” authored by **Govinda Vaidya**, “*Chikkadevaraja Binnapam*” stated to have written by **Chikkadevaraja**, the Mysore ruler (1683-1707) ‘*Apratimavira Charite*’ written by **Tirumalraya** Minister of *Chikkadevaraja*, ‘*Keladinripa Vijaya*’ by **Linganna**, ‘*Mysuru Doregala Purvottar*’, ‘*Sriram Maharajar Vamshavali*’ or the Annals help us in knowing the Maratha activities in Karnataka.

The later and less used literary source materials is ‘*Shivaji Mallammaji*

Samarotsava’ written by *Shesho Srinivasa*, an officer in *Belavadi* kingdom and *Muriga Taravali* written by **Muriga Gurusidda II** in his ‘*Guru Muriga Shantavira Desikendra*’. Both these works are contemporay as they refer to Shivaji’s expeditions in Karnataka. The other important works are ‘*Turukar Panchamara Itihasavu*’ by **Siddhant Sivabasava Sastri** and *Chitradurgada Paleyagararu* by **M.S. Puttanna**. The former deals with the post altercation and the reconciliation between Shivaji and *Mallamma of Belavadi*, while the latter helps in knowing the relations between Maratha rulers and *Chitradurga Palegars* during Maratha war of independence in Karnataka.

I have also extensively used the old Gazetteers of Bombay, Presidency, Mysore & then Karnataka State Gazetteer and also Dharwad, Belgaum, Bangalore rural, Shimoga, North and South Kanara districts and Mysore to corroborate the secondary sources. I have also made use of the maps and illustrations to illustrate the Maratha campaigns and also the route taken by Shivaji and Rajaram for thier sojourn in Karnataka and have tried to identify and locate some of the places mentioned in literature and inscriptions.

Apart from these, I have used Marathi, English, Dutch and to a certain expent Portuguese sources as well. What is more, a few research articles on relations between Marathas with Mysore, Keladi and *Sondha* Kingdoms, during Shivaji and his successors have been published by scholars like **M.H. Krishna**, **Shejwalkar**, **G.H. Khare**, **G.S. Dixit**, **A.R. Kulkarni** and **Suryakanth Kamat**. These articles clearly bring out the historic relations between Karnataka and Maharashtra from the time of Bhosle period. **Dr. Muddacharis** ‘*Mysore Maratha Relations*’ in the 17th century provides valuable information in the activities of the Marathas in *Carnatic* and their relations with the *Wodeyars of Mysore*. But in the Northern and Western Karnataka Maratha influence was felt more. The works on *History of Keladi*, *Sondha*, *Chitradurga* deal with the

Marathas and their relations with these rulers. The importance of the work of **Dr. Muddachari** lies in the fact that he was the earliest person to tread the virgin field of Mysore Maratha relations. **Dr. Vidya Karve's** Ph D thesis (unpublished) on '*The Marathas in South India*' 1600-1707, submitted in 1982 has a sketchy report on Shahaji in Karnataka. However she has not dealt with Shivaji's relations with some of the Kannada rulers, such as Keladi and Belavadi Mallamma. In addition since her submission, considerable new material has come to light, which I have used in my thesis.

During the course of my research, I visited *Shimoga, Keladi and Bidnur* together new information which revealed the ties of Shivaji and Rajaram with Karnataka.

Much information is collected and scrutinised chiefly from Kannada epigraphical sources. As it happens inscriptions and monuments were engraved to eulogise or glorify a person or an event. To separate the friction from the historical facts had been a challenging task. An honest attempt is sought to be made in this direction. How far one has succeeded is for the discerning reader to judge.

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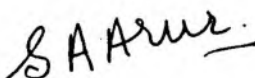

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List of Abbreviations

AHMP	A History of the Maratha Peoples by Kincaid and Parasnis
Annals.....	Annals of the Mysore Royal family
APS	Aitihāsik Pharasi Sahitya
AVC	Apratima Viracharite
BAL	Balakrishna's Shivaji The Great
B'bay Gaz.....	Bombay Gazetteer
Bendre V.C.	Maloji Raje Ani Shahaji Raje
BISM	Bharat Itihasa Samshodhak Mandal
CB	Chikkadevaraja Binnapam
CV	Chikkadevaraja Vijayam
CP	Chenna Pattan
EC	Epigraphia Carnatica
EFI	English Factories in India
ERS	English Records on Shivaji
FR	Factory Records
GSS	G.S.Sardesai, New History of the Marathas
Hist of Madu	History of the Nayakas of Madurai
HA	History of Aurangzeb Sarkar
History of Mysore	Historical Sketches of the South India in an attempt to trace the History of Mysore.
IHC	Indian History Congress
IHRC	Indian Historical Records Commission
JBBRAS	Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society
JS	Jedhe Sakavali
JIH	<u>Journal of Oriental Research</u>

KHR.....	Karnataka Historical Review
Kin Par.....	Kincaid and Parasnis, AHMP
KI.....	Karnataka Inscriptions
KK.....	Kaifi Khan
KeNV.....	Keladi Nripa Vijayam
KNV.....	Kanthirava Narasaraj Vijayam
Ka St Gaz.....	Karnataka State Gazetteer
La Mission.....	La mission du Madura
MA.....	Masiri Alamgiri
MAR.....	Mysore Archaeological Reports
Md Nama.....	Mohammad Name
MHR.....	Maratha History Re-examined
My Do Pu.....	Mysore Doregal Purvottar
NHM.....	New History of the Maratha of G.S.Sardesai
QJMS.....	Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society
RMVC.....	Radha Madhav Vilas Champu
SCS.....	Shiva Charitra Sahitya
Shi Ch Vr San.....	Shiv Charitra Vritta Sangraha
Sen Siva.....	Sivachatrapati of Sen
Shiv Dig.....	Shiv Digvijay
SII.....	South Indian Inscriptions
SKA.....	S.K.Aiyangar
SKPSS.....	Shiv Kalin Patra Sarsangraha
SMS.....	Shivaji Mallammaji Samarotsav
Sources.....	Sources of Maratha History by Rawlinson & Patwardhan

Introduction

The rich and productive India has many a time been invaded by tribes from the North for plunder or rule by conquest. All of them sooner or later became Indianised and merged with the main population as new castes. But the case of Muslims was different. Soon after *Mohammad's* demise, the new Muslim Arab hosts spread East, West, North and South by land and sea. Sindh was conquered but India had to wait for a couple of centuries before *Ghazni Mahmud* began marauding India. Muslim conquest spread easily to the East while Central mountain ranges of *Vindhya* and *Sahyadri* held up the onrush. However, this also was overrun and reached the tip of peninsula. The Hindu reaction succeeded in stemming the tide in the form of the Vijaynagara empire, which titularly proclaimed itself as lord of the two seas. The Arabian sea and the Bay of Bengal. It defended Hindu *dharma*, tolerated all other faiths and lasted from 1336 to 1656 A.D.

The *Bahamani* kingdom was established at about that time, eleven years later just North of *Vijaynagara*. Though divided into five states, four of the stronger Shahi states joined together to defeat *Vijayanagara* at the battle of *Rakkastangadi*. The weakened *Vijayanagara* state continued to exist losing province after province, like the sick man of India. But this sickly empire throughout its glory and decadence had set an example of resistance to the invader of self respect, good administration and Hindu Muslim communal harmony in the administration. The memory of heroism and sacrifice, service and fair dealing still persisted among the Indians at large, particularly in the South of the *Vindhayas*. They had been recently rejuvenated by religious revival to which normally a subject people resort in gaining independence.

The Mughals who were the ruling dynasty in the North spread over by and

by, became a ruling caste after the Indian fashion. They employed converts from the Hindus, who joined for love of religion or of lucre. But there still remained fighting castes, like *Rajputs*, *Marathas* and others. Sovereignty spelled jealousy and rivalry of relatives. Hence perforce, the Muslim rulers took advantage of the sons of the soil. Hence the rise of sardars of the Maratha community in the kingdom of *Ahmednagar*, *Bijapur* and *Golconda* which had succeeded to the Bahamani kingdom.

In course of time the loyal feudatories of Vijaynagara empire became independent under the Nayakas of *Madura*, *Tanjore*, *Jinji*, *Keladi* and *Mysore*, who vied with each other in extending their frontiers in the South.

SHAHAJI IN KARNATAKA (1636 TO 1664 A.D.)

In this background we find Shahaji the Maratha soldier making his debut in Shahi kingdoms to seek his fortune. He was born in *Verul* a village near *Daulatabad* in the year 1594, March 15th to *Maloji Bhosle*, who was employed in the service of *Lakhuji Jadhavrao*. The latter was a powerful noble in the Nijamshahi government. Both *Maloji* and *Shahaji Bhosle* rose to be the helpmates of *Malik Ambar*, the Abyssian minister of Nijamshahi, who became practically the defacto ruler. With scanty resources, a handful of brave Maratha and Muslim soldiers he withstood the Mughal invasion for fifteen long years.

The Mughal emperors *Akbar*, *Jehangir* and *Shahajahan* established their power in the North were eager to subjugate the Deccan. They had the advantage of enormous resources, and competent Generals who were keen to annex the kingdom of *Ahmednagar*. This was a training period for Shahaji who quickly grasped the tricks of the trade - the method of warfare and diplomacy in the practical school of *Malik Ambar*. He proved his mettle in the battle of *Bhatwadi* in the year 1624 against the combined armies of the Mughals and the

Adilshahis. This success made his mentor jealous and the subsequent strained relations drove Shahaji to seek service under Adilshahis sometimes in 1625.¹ Shahaji remained here only for 2 years and joined Nijamshah only to desert it after the tragic end of his father in law *Lakhuji Jadhav* and his family members under the Nijamshah. With a feeling of revulsion and disgust against the Nijamshah, Shahaji joined the Mughal service at the invitation of *Shahajahan* himself, as the *Mansabdar* of 5000.² From 1630 to 32 for two years he served the Mughals. But the internal dissension within the Nijamshahi and repeated Mughal attacks and the subsequent submission and capture of Husein Nijamshah and his treacherous ministers, the unworthy son of *Malik Ambar*, *Fatehkan* all these perturbed Shahaji so much that he decided to join the Nijamshah once again to make one more final effort to resuscitate the failing fortunes of the state under whose patronage he and his family had thrived so long.

With Adilshahi's assistance Shahaji mustered his energy against the ever surging Mughal forces for three terrible and agonising years. *Shahajahan* personally marched to the Deccan in 1636 January and closed down upon Shahaji from all directions. the Bijapuri and Golconda forces couldnot withstand the oncoming Mughal army and surrendered deserting Shahaji to his fate. Shahaji had to bear the whole brunt of this war single handed.

Shahajahan had won the greatest victory of his life after forty years of struggle, the Deccan was in his hands. On May 6th 1636, he sent a letter to Adilshah with terms of the treaty. This treaty sealed the fate of Shahaji.³ The sixth article of the treaty mentions that if Shahaji Bhosle sought Adilshah's service he should be entertained on the condition that he hands over to the Imperial officers "The forts of *Junnar*, *Trimbak*, *Pemgarh*, *Rajdhar* and *Tringalwar*, which were in his possession."⁴ Shahajahan also made it clear that Shahaji should be kept away from his stronghold i.e. former Ahmadnagar

territory and engaged him in the South.⁵

The treaty also redefined the boundaries of the Mughal empires and the southern kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda restricting the latter to the South and Eastern directions, across *Krishna - Tungabhadra* into *Mysore, Madras* and *Carnatic*. Hence forth the Shahi Sultans were debarred from interfering in the North. Therefore the Shahi Sultans divided the South among themselves, Golconda to extend along the East coast, below the Krishna delta and Bijapur to conquer Western Karnataka, *Malanad* and *Mysore* plateau. Here in these Karnataka conquest Shahaji was to play an important role, fulfilling his masters ambition of expanding the Bijapur kingdom into the South.

Adilshah knew the work of Shahaji hence undertook the responsibility of Shahaji, handing over the forts to the Mughals. He was also wary of the presence of *Shahajahan* for too long in Deccan, so persuaded him to leave for Agra. *6 By October 1636, Shahaji was surrounded by the Bijapur forces and he was forced to surrender the forts alongwith puppets Nijamshah. Both *Shiva Digvijay* and *Radha Madhav Vilas Champu*⁷ agree that Shahaji had sent *Naro Trimal Hanmante Mazumdar* to Bijapur for talks and *Muhammad Adil Shah* who readily agreed to take back Shahaji in his service. He needed people with grit and determination and Shahaji had proved it single handedly opposing the mighty Mughal power. *Jadhunath Sarkar* has very well summed up the work of Shahaji, before his entry into Adilshah court. "Eight years of ceaseless activity as the kingmaker, dictator of a revived Nijamshahi kingdom singlehanded long fight with Mughal had developed his powers of war, diplomacy and financial management. He had a strong loyal band of Maratha soldiers, experienced captains, expert civil servants, all this no Bijapuri General had achieved so far.

⁸ Adilshah court had been torn between the *Deccanis* and *Paradesi* Muslim factions (foreigners like Persians, Arabs, North Africans and Abyssinians) and

to strengthen himself he needed a Maratha Shahaji. Bijapur army had lost his vigour as was proved in the recent war with the Mughals. The Southern provinces were in revolt and to bring them under control he needed Shahaji's expert services. The Sultan did not want to lose Shahaji to his rivals either Qutbshah or the Mughals as he knew, given an opportunity Shahaji might negotiate with them for his own advantage. Thus Mughal Adilshah treaty of 1636 brought Shahaji into Adilshahi camp. It was an year of preface to the fulfillment of Shahaji's political ambitions. His earlier service with the Nijamshahi, the Mughals and the Adilshahi's had not yielded positive results, forcing him to make and break relationships as and when required. His final allegiance to Adilshah bore fruit and his earlier disappointments helped him sharpen his astute qualities through long experience leading to ultimate success.

The Bijapur Sultans had to deal with Hindu kings and Hindu population. The Maratha party was purposely utilised to create a sort of equilibrium and was allowed to become powerful, often acting as arbitrators between Mughals and Adilshahi's, "to garner its political fruits the Hindu Shahaji was as much depended upon as the Muslim Asadkhan." ⁹

His success and failure in the past had made Shahaji wiser and he joined Adilshah not without conditions. He demanded a jagir in payment of his services from the Nijamshah territory. South of the Godavary, which the Bijapur Sultan had recovered after the fall of subsequent partition of Nijamshahi territory in 1636.

Grant Duff in his *History of the Mahrattas* clarifies that Shahaji was promised land before embarking upon his career in Karnataka. "Shahaji was being promised a Jagheer, in that quarter, consisting of the districts of Kolhar, Bangalore, Ouscotta and Balapur and Sera which were afterwards made over to

him and probably with a view of securing him by an interest in different parts of the kingdom. Mohammad Adilshah conferred on him a royal grant for the Deshmukhi of 22 villages in the district of Kurar (near Satara) the right of which had by some means devolved on government.) ¹⁰ Shahaji himself confirmed he got a jagir of four lacs and was commissioned to Karnataka ¹¹

Shahaji's other demand was that the expected proper treatment from the Bijapur sultans. Infact he insisted *Muhammad Adilshah* should consider him as 'Farzand (son)' The sultan abided by his promise and all his firmans (royal order) Mohammad Adilshah called him as '*Maharaj Shahaji Farzand* or '*Farzand Shahaji Raje*'. ¹² Even during Ali Adilshah's period this title was continued. The fact that a Hindu could call himself a *Farzand* of the Sultan in the Muslim kingdom speaks of the trust and faith sultan had in Shahaji. Yet another demand of Shahaji was that he should be allowed to have a standing army of 10000 of his own, recruited from *Junner, Pune, Supe* alongwith the necessary war material.

The reasons for Karnataka expeditions can be summed up as follows,

The 1636 Mughal Adilshah, Shahaji treat was not the only reason to send expeditions into Karnataka. The Persian chronicle '*Muhammadnama*' clearly indicates, 'As the Karnataka and Malanad had not been conquered before by any Muslim king of the Deccan, Muhammad Adil Shah thought of bringing them under his sway in order to strengthen and glorify the Islamic religion in the dominion of the Hindus'. ¹³ And to win for himself the title of *Mujahid* and *Ghazi* adds *Basatin us Salatin*. ¹⁴

Sardesai also confirms this by saying that *Muhammad Shah* was a fanatic in religious matters and was anxious to pull down the Hindu temples and

plunder the wealth for the glory of Islam. ¹⁵ As a matter of fact it is doubtful whether such things ever took place. The policy of the Adilshahis was broadly tolerant, since they ruled over predominantly Hindu population and their army consisted of many Hindu officers such as *Vedoji Pant*, *Raghoji Pandit*, *Sidhoji* and *Kanhoji*.

After the 1636 treaty both Bijapur and Golconda had to concentrate in the South. Both the powers competed with each other for greener pastures in the South. Between these two powerful forces *Srirangaraya* of Vellore, the last vestige of the Vijayanagara empire found himself completely crushed. His own feudatories were his worst enemies who to fulfill their own selfish ends deserted him and brought the Muslims into the South. This period tells us how 'slowly but surely the Muslim conquerors seized the former Vijaynagara empire and crushed its innumerable, disunited, mutually jealous warring Hindu feudatories across the entire Indian peninsula'. ¹⁶ These mutually jealous and warring Hindu feudatories were Kenge Hanumanayaka of Basavapattana a feudatory of *Keladi 'Ikkeri'* kingdom, the chief of *Sumaki Bagur* in Bangalore district, a feudatory of *Kempe Gowda* of Bangalore and *Chennayya* of *Nagamangala* of Mandya district of Mysore ruler and many more who openly invited and gave an opportunity for Bijapur sultans to interfere in their internal affairs. The sultan was only waiting for such opportunities and he promptly sent expeditions into Karnataka to make for his losses in the North.

CHAPTER 1

Foundation of Maratha Domain in Karnataka (1636-1664 A.D.)

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CHAPTER 1

FOUNDATION OF MARATHA DOMAIN IN KARNATAKA (1636-1664 A.D.)

1.1 Shahaji under Muhammad Adil Shah 1636-1656 AD

Shahaji's two decades of stay in Karnataka are full of military exploits. In 1636 Shahaji entered into Bijapur service under *Muhammad Adil shah* and served him till the latter's death in 1656. This phase is marked by innumerable battles in which Shahaji took prominent part and slowly acquired jagirs after jagirs and by the end of 1656 he had become the master of major portions in the region of Karnataka under the Bijapur flag.

Karnataka had become a veritable battleground not only for Shahi sultans (Bijapur and Golconda) but also the petty feudatories of *Mysore, Keladi* and *Vellore* who lost no opportunity in working against their masters dragging each one of them to the battleground. Bribery, caprice, treason played an important part in the political convulsions of that period. Only shrewd and calculating survived and became successful. Shahaji was another contender to Karnataka position, on behalf of Bijapur as he with his previous political experience played his cards well.

Details of battles fought in this connection could be in five phases.

1.1.1 The first Karnataka War

1.1.1.1 War against Keladi - 1637 winter

The Keladi Nayakas were powerful feudatories of former Vijaynagar rulers. they had their hold on the Western part of Karnataka. Hence they practically monopolised the rice and pepper trade with all the foreign traders who had

arrived in the Western part of India. The foreign trade brought immense riches to the kingdom and its wealth and prosperity has been well described by European travellers. Like *Petro Dellavalla*, *Dr. Fryer Abecarre* etc. At the time of the Bijapur expedition, *Virabhadra Nayaka* (1629-45) was ruling from Ikkeri. His Vassal Kenge Hanumappa Nayak of Basavapattana (which is to the east of Ikkeri) was not on good terms with his master *Virabhadra Nayaka* due to the boundary dispute and the subsequent rebellion resulted in the loss of a *Jagir* as a mark of punishment.¹⁸ Greatly infuriated *Kenge Hanumappa Nayak* approached Bijapur Sultan to put down Ikkeri. He sent *Venkatpati Deva* with 20,000 varahas, dress and ornaments to the Sultan. Even the rulers of *Sonde*, *Bilagi* approached Bijapur to instigate the Sultan against Keladi (Ke N V, P VI)¹⁹ Contemporary sources like *Muhammad Nama* state that separate message to Randullakhan, a veteran general of Bijapur promising to show the short cut route to Ikkeri and easy victory for which he expected 1 lakh *hons* as his reward²⁰.

Muhammad Adil Shah sent *Ranadulla Khan*, alongwith Shahaji on his first mission in Karnataka to assist *Kenge Hanumappa Nayaka* against Ikkeri *Virabhadranayak*. The combined army marched via Dharwar and Lakshemeshevar and laid siege to Ikkeri. It was an easy victory for Bijapur as the unsuspecting *Virabhadra Nayaka* was forced to surrender half of his kingdom as well as Eighteen lakh *hons* after two months of siege.²¹

Govinda Vaidya gives a graphic account of the siege of Ikkeri in his eleventh *Sandhi* (verse) entitled '*Karnatakke Khananu Bandudu*' (Arrival of Khan to Karnataka). The post describes the havoc created after the arrival of the Khan's army, caught hold of the ladies, idols, broke the heads, looted the city, desecrated the pious ladies, destroyed the cows, What a sight it was ! The *Sultan* was so pleased with this feat, he praised the khan, and sent him to

conquer Karnataka. ²² Sardesai's observations confirm this Kannada source. According to him "The poor peaceful citizen of a once prosperous kingdom lost the lives or their homes". ²³

1.1.2 The Second Karnataka War - 1638

The second Karnataka war had far reaching consequences as it tried to vanquish many chieftans at one stroke. This expedition aimed at Kempegowda of Bangalore, in addition Chennayya of *Nagamangala* aspired to take revenge on the *Wodeyar* of Mysore. Their open invitations excited the ambitions of Bijapur Sultan, both for wealth & territory. The expedition was headed by *Ranadulla* khan, accompanied by *Shahaji*, *Vedoji*, *Raghav Pandit*, *Siddoji*, *Kanhoji* and *Ankushkhan*. This huge army reached *Basavapattana* and with *Hanumappa Nayaka* of that place proceeded creating havoc all along the way. ²⁴

The same source further states that this huge army was joined by the armies of the *Palegars* of *Kanakagiri*, *Sondur* having control over major parts of present Bangalore, *Nelamangal*, *Ramnagaram* and *Magadi* taluks of Bangalore district and parts of *Kunigal* taluka of *Tumkur* district, *Ujjini*, *Hatti* (Virappa Nayaka) *Dodderi*, *Kundurpe*, *Hiriyur* (Tammanna Nayaka), *Chikkanayakhahalli* (Bairnayaka) *Turuvekere*, *Belur* and *Narasimhapura* against the Mysore ruler. ²⁵

This colossal army was divided into two divisions. One division under Afzalkhan attacked *Sira* enroute to Bangalore. The ruler of *Sira*, *Kasturiranga* was easily overpowered. He was later asked to come for a parley promising safety, ²⁶ but was treacherously murdered by *Afzal khan*. The same tactic was sought to be used to overpower Shivaji almost twenty years later (1659), but the latter took all precautions before meeting his foe. *Kasturi Ranga's* incident might have been still fresh in his mind. After the death of *Kasturi Rangan* the

people of the fort prepared themselves to give a battle, but *Ranadulla Khan's* army captured the fort and sent the loot to the capital. The fort was handed over to *Hanumappa Nayaka*. Other division under *Randulla Khan* & *Shahaji* marched to *Tumkur*, laid siege to the city and took it after looting the people. The army then moved to *Shivaganga* near *Bangalore* and encamped.²⁷ The palegars of *Bagur* and *Tadapatri* cleverly diverted the army towards *Bangalore*, whose ruler was *Kempe Gowda*.

1.1.2.1 Battle for Bangalore - 1638

Kempe Gowda was the powerful ruler of *Yelahankanadu*. He had founded the city of *Bangalore*, beautified it with strong gates in all directions. The enemy's sudden attack although might have unnerved him for a while yet he showed great nerve in resisting the mighty army inspite of his limited resources for three consecutive days. Tired and worn out at last, he was forced to surrender. Poet **Paramananda**, the historian of *Shivaji*, has a word of praise for *Kempe Gowda's* valour. "The ruler of *Bangalore*", he writes is adept in warfare, opposed the enemies for quite a long period with great valour and a spirit, at last he had to surrender *Bangalore*.²⁸

The battle of *Bangalore* ended in a treaty. Accordingly *Kempe Gowda* had to surrender *Bangalore* fort, accept a subordinate position and send an annual tribute to *Bijapur*. He had to pledge his own son to save his life.²⁹ *Ranadulla Khan's* intention might have been to crush him totally, but because of *Shahaji's* intervention *Kempe Gowda* was saved from utter humiliation. *Shahaji* suggested an alternate arrangements, handing over *Magadi* and surrounding areas to *Kempe Gowda*. The latter satisfied himself with *Magadi*, sending **annual tributes** to *Bijapur* through *Shahaji*. While *Shahaji* was given *Bangalore* as promised earlier for his loss of *Kampili*, *Bangalore* from now on became capital of his almost independent kingdom till it was sold to *Chickdevaraya Wodeyar* by *Vyankoji*

(Ekoji) son of Shahaji in the year 1684.

1.1.2.2 War against Mysore ruler (Kanthirava Narasaraya Wodeyar) 1638

The Wodeyars were another powerful feudatories of Vijaynagara keeping up the rich tradition of the then mighty empire. Kanthirava Narasaraja was then the ruler of Mysore (1638-1659) known for his strength and valour.

After placing Shahaji in Bangalore as the chief of the fort, *Randulla Khan* moved forward conquering on his way the rulers of *Ramgiri, Kunigal, Tumkur* district, *Ballapura, Koppal, Bijjavar, Chikkaballarpura, Kolar, Halavanhalli, Hoskote, Hosur Kaggondi, Masti, Devandapuri, Sidhalghatta* and *Surebale*. All these lords surrendered to the Khan.³⁰ Intoxicated with this success, *Ranadullakhan* is supposed to have sent envoys to *Kanthirava* demanding payment of tribute. Mysore had always been an independent kingdom and never a fiefdom of Bijapur, hence *Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar* refused to pay the tribute. Khan ordered the seizure of the *Srirangapatnam* force and on 18th January *Ranadulla* and Shahaji invested both Mysore and *Srirangapatnam* simultaneously. Kannada sources flamed victory to *Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar*. *Nanjarajaiya* the commander in chief of Mysore army is supposed to have destroyed the enemy camps at *Arakere, Hosaholalu* and *Yadavagiri* (Melkote) in his famous and ferocious night attacks. *Ranadulla*, not deterred by this victory continued the war and was successful in destroying a part of the fort killing many people. At this juncture, *Kanthirava* came as a 'Narasimha' incarnate born on the earth to destroy the Turushkas.³¹ *Randullakhan* had a plan and thought of compromise but *Nagamangal Chennaya* insisted on continuation of the war leading a part of the army through the secret entrance but *Kanthirava Narasaraja* destroys the 'demons'.³² *Srirangapatnam* celebrated triumph. Based on these epigraphical as well as literary sources Wilks, S.K.

Aiyangar and Hayavadanrao claimed the defeat of Bijapur army.³³

Kanthirava had to pay a tribute of 5 lacs to Bijapur and for the collection of the tribute *Kenge Hanumappa Nayak* of *Basavapattana* and *Quzi Sayyed* were stationed at Mysore.³⁴ This clearly means that the Mysore ruler was defeated. The other terms of the treaty were that territory lying to the South of *Cauvery* should belong to *Kanthirava* and North of the *Cauvery* to Bijapur. *Kanthirava* had the right to collect the revenue in the Bijapur owned land, but was to remit the same to the Bijapur government after deducting the necessary expense ment for the management.³⁵

The Kannada source **Kanthirava Narasaraja Vijayam** describes the Mysore method of warfare which it calls as, 'Kaggole Kallaga' or 'Guerilla' warfare or ^{sudden} sudden or lightening attack. *Malik Ambar* is said to be the pioneer in using these tactics against the Mughals and Shahaji was trained in this military school. Later the Marathas under Shivaji used these tactics successfully against the Mughals. This technics seems to be known in Karnataka too. They might have used it when faced by overwhelming armies. Later, *Santaji Ghorpade* and *Dhanaji Jadhav* used the same strategy and resisted the Mughal invasion in Karnataka.

Both Marathi and Kannada sources vie with each other on praising, exaggerating their sides while blaming each other. Marathi sources claim that Shahaji was the sole commander of Bijapur army getting all the credit for Karnataka expedition. But the Kannada sources like *Kanthirava Narasaraja Vijayam*, the Annals and *Keladinripa Vijayam* underrate the position of Shahaji. For them he was only one among the many important commanders of *Ranadulla Khan*.

The Marathi Bakhars describe the Kannadigas as 'Mayavis', 'Demons' having tantric knowledge. Various stories, legends were rife in demeaning the Kannadigas. For example the Mysoreans were known for cutting of the noses of the enemies. Hence **Shivabharat** calls *Kanthirava* a cruel king. Infact **Balkrishna** in his '*Shivaji the great*' refers to this war as 'War of the noses'.

1.1.3 The Third Karnataka War (1640)

The third Karnataka war triggered off because of *Virbhadra Nayaka* of Ikkeri who avenged *Kenge Hanumappa* of *Basavapatana* for his loss of money and territory in the winter of 1637. He is supposed to have sent an embassy to Bijapur under *Huvayya* and *Purushottamayya* with presence. He also instigated the Sultan against Mysore for the non-payment of arrears of reparations. The Sultan sent an army against Mysore under Khan Khannan with 40000 cavalry. He was accompanied by *Nagamangala Chennaiya* and *Veerbhadra* of *Ikkeri*. Shahaji also joined the Bijapur army from Bangalore³⁶. The combined Bijapur - *Ikkeri* army crossed *Tungabhadra* and besieged Tarikere and destroyed it. They also captured *Basavapattana* fort. *Kenge Hanumappa* lost the fort as well as 40 lacs hons and was packed off to Bijapur. *Murtaza Beg* was made the Governor of *Basavapattana*. Both Kannada and Marathi sources agree on the victory of Bijapur over *Basanapattana*. Infact they give credit to Shahaji for this conquest (confirmed by the stone inscription at Tanjore during Sarfaroji's rule).

1.1.3.1 War against Mysore (1640 July - August)

Shahaji and Vedoji and besieged Srirangapattana fort and were successful in possessing it after a terrible battle but this victory proved to be short lived. *Nanjarajaiya* the commander of Mysore army shifted the theater of war to *Huliyadurga*, as a result not only he managed to defeat the Bijapur army but also capture *Bagur* and *Turuvekere*³⁷. The sultan sent more reinforcements under *Mustafa Khan* in December 1640. But this attempt was also a failure.

This information is available only through Kannada sources.³⁸ But **Muhammadnama** is silent about this entire episode. It is presumed Bijapur lost the battle.

War against Mysore (1641)

The very next year Shahaji was sent along with *Afzalkhan*, *Vedoji Pant* on Mysore. The result was a terrific one. One by one smaller and bigger principalities fell prey before the mighty Bijapur army. *Tippur*, *Hampapur*, *Madapur*, *Katterighatta*, *Hoseholalu* all fell the enemy. On their way the Marathas captured Turuvekere.³⁹ Thus once again the Sultan failed in securing *Srirangapattana*. *Kanthirava* might have bought off the Bijapur generals through bribes to evade the impending Bijapur invasion or possibly invaded the enemy but got better of them. In the bargain Marathas benefited as in the case of Shahaji, who was given strategic places, like *Dodda Ballapura*, *Tumkur*, *Kunigal*, *Chikkanayakanhalli*, *Ramgiridurg*, with Bangalore as its capital. Shahaji administer his principality quite independently. With every Karnataka expedition his power and prestige increased. He concentrated his time and energy on administering the newly acquired territories.

War against Mysore (May 1643)

In the same year Shahaji lost his comrade and a good friend *Ranadullakhan*. He had been supportive to Shahaji throughout with *Muhammad Adilshah's* illness, the court intrigues had increased and the Sultan's attention in Karnataka was diverted. At this juncture *Nanjarajaiya*, the commander of Mysore army drove away *Afzalkhan*, the then Governor of *Turuvekere*. *Anebagur* was added to *Turuvekere* and *Hampendra* was appointed to administer both these places. The Mysore commander gained lot of war booty including an elephant called '*Bokkalika*'⁴⁰ This sudden loss attracted the attention of the Sultan and he blamed Shahaji of indifference and failing in helping his

compatriot *Afzalkhan*, being so near to *Turuvekere*. He also ordered Shahaji to take back the lost territories, otherwise he would lose his position. But the fact was, after the death of *Ranadullakhan*, Shahaji was not getting proper reinforcement from Bijapur. His position became very delicate now as his power at Bangalore was still in its infancy. He had to look for outside help as he didnot expect any from Bijapur.

The period between 1644 to 1646 Shahaji was involved in too many activities, taking the help from dissatisfied petty feudatories, who were against Mysore. The Persian sources are silent about these battles as these didnot bring any credit to their master, the Bijapur Sultan. Sarkar, who depends Persian sources feels Shahaji was inactive during this period. It is only the Kannada sources which provides with this information.

Narasimhanayaka of *Holenarasipura* (North West of Mysore) and *Nanjundaraj* of *Periyapattana* both were feudatories of Mysore. They had evaded the annual tribute due to their master and also had behaved audaciously to the officers sent to collect the arrears, as a result *Kanthirava Narasaraja* sent *Nanjarajaiya* to besiege *Holenarasipur* in April 1644. *Govinda Vaidya* mentions that *Narasimhanayaka* took Muslim help, consisting of *Afzalkhan*, *Ambarkhan*, *Shahaji* and *Vedoji* and *Raghav Pandit* ⁴¹. In the battle that ensued the Mysore commander completely routed the combined army of Bijapur and *Narsipur* and *Narsimhanayaka* was forced to pay the arrears of tribute to retain his kingdom.

Nanjundaraja of *Periyapattana* was in leagued with *Virbhadra* of *Ikkeri* and *Shahaji* joined them against Mysore. The fact that *Nanjundaraja* took the help of Bijapur is mentioned by letters from Fort *St. George*, dated 25th August 1643 ⁴² and also *Srirangarayalu* by *S.K. Aiyangar* ⁴³. The triumvirates supposed

to have marched with 15000 foot, 8000 cavalry towards *Srirangapattana*. The battle took place from January till October 1645. There are references of Nanjundaraja being badly injured, *Ikkeri* army running helter skelter and Shahaji running away to Bangalore ⁴⁴. The triumphant Mysore army hoisted their flag on *Periyapattana*. *Kanthirava* personally came down to congratulate his commander. *Periyapattana* was incorporated in the Mysore kingdom on October 7th 1645. *Nanjundaraja* had a tragic end. ⁴⁵.

Although these two battles didnot bring any credit to Shahaji, his organisational power was once again tested and was found fruitful. He was slowly trying to disentangle himself or extricate himself from Bijapur control finding possible from local feudatories against Mysore. Shahaji slowly but surely tried to become more and more automonous in his *jagir* taking advantage of the immense faith placed by Adilshah in him.

1.1.4 Fourth Karnataka War (1646)

In three consecutive expedition Bijapur army has faced defeat from Mysore. It greatly affected the prestige of Bijapur. *Afzalkhan* had been driven away from *Turuvekere* and Shahaji attempts to take back lost territories also had failed miserably in the battles of *Holenarasipura* and *Periyapattana*. Defeat of Shahaji meant defeat of Bijapur, hence *Muhammad Adil Shah* sent an expedition under *Mustafa Khan* ⁴⁶. This battle was aimed at three people, *Kanthirava* of *Srirangapatana*, *Shivappanayaka* of *Keladi* and *Sriranga* of *Vellore*.

The year 1645 saw the ascendancy of *Shivappanayaka* of *Ikkeri*. He was one of the most powerful rulers of Keladi dynasty. He joined hands with local rulers and rose to undo the work of his predecessors (*Virbhadr* had cordial relations with Bijapur) and followed expansionist policy at the cost of Bijapur.

In 1642 the last but unfortunate survival *Srirangaraya* of decadent *Vijayanagara* came to the throne. The territories belonging to the empire were one by one acquired by Bijapur in their annual expeditions making Bijapur dominant power in the South. Since then Hindu kingdoms were fast receding into oblivion. Hence to check the progress of Bijapur *Srirangaraya* tried to organise disintegrating feudatories and fight a united front against the Muslims and revised Hindu culture and glory which was fast disappearing. But unfortunately his own subordinates, *Nayakas* of *Madura*, *Tanjore*, *Jingi* didnot cooperate with him. Their envoys went and met *Mustafa Khan* the Bijapur commander who had encamped at *Shivaganga* putting their sovereign in discomfiture.

1.1.4.1 Expedition against Mysore

Under the command of *Mustafa Khan* Bijapur army left on June 5th 1646 marching via *Gadag* and *Lakshmeshwar* joined by *Shahaji* at *Honnali*, twelve miles from *Basavapattana* on 3th October against *Shivapanayaka* of *Ikkeri*. Last minute *Shivappa* feigned loyalty to *Mustafa Khan* and joined him with 1000 cavalry and 2000 foot soldiers.⁴⁷ They were joined by most of the local feudatories for fear of being trampled and despoiled of their territories. (*Doddanayaka* of *Harapanahalli*, *Desai* of *Lakshmeshwar*, *Koppal*, many Marathas like, *Ghatge's*, *Haibatrao* as told earlier, even the *Nayakas* of *Jingi*, *Tanjore*, *Madura*) Such a vast army marched to invade Mysore. This chaotic condition of Carnatic has been noted down by **English Factory Records**. "This country is at present full of wars and troubles for the king (*Sriranga*) and three of his nagues (*Nayaks*) are at variance and the king of *Vizapore's* army is come into this country on one side and the king of *Golconda* on the other, both against the king."⁴⁸ When the news of stationing of Bijapur army at *Turuvekere* reached *Kanthirava* he sent his experienced Generals *Nanjarajaiya*. Looking at

the enemies resources and strength the Mysore commanders used guerilla tactics and created havoc in the enemies camp. Mysore won but lost its most able commander, *Nanjarajaiya*. (He must have died in January 1647. **Prof. Muddachari** concludes on the basis of **Sriman Maharaja Vanshaval**i (Annals) which informs of a new commander *Lingarajaiya* ⁴⁹.

The failure didnot deter the ambition of *Mustafa Khan* as it had become a prestige issue for him after his bold proclamation in the court to crush the infidel (Mysore ruler). His second attempt also might have resulted in a failure for the Italian traveller **Leonardo Cinnani** writes that “Kanthirava not only made war on weak but also fought with moors (Muslims) who were tough. The commander *Mustafa khan* accompanied by 6000 army pushed through Mysore but he had to return from he had come ⁵⁰. This battle also didnot bear any fruit.

1.1.4.2 Expedition Against Sriranga (1646)

Mustafa khan and Shahaji turned their attention *Srirangaraya* as their earlier attempts to crush Mysore had proved a failure. *Sriranga* was busy trying to bring under his control, his treacherous vassals, *Tirumal* of *Madura*, *Vijayaraghav* of *Tanjore*, *Roopanayaka* of *Jingi*. When the Bijapur army had stationed at *Shivaganga* in Bangalore district dissatisfied parties went to meet *Mustafa Khan*, each with their offer of terms. Even *Sriranga* sent his own envoy, a Brahmin by name *Venkanna Somayaji* to carry on negotiations. *Mustafa* told *Venkanna* that when the Vijaynagara emperor stopped its operation against his vassals, Bijapur also would cease its own activities ⁵¹. *Sriranga* had sought the help of Bijapur mainly against his rebellious vassals, so *Mustafa*’s reply was disappointing. It seems that the Khan even thought of keeping *Venkanna* as hostage. ⁵².

It was here that Shahaji interfered playing the part of the mediator and took upon himself the responsibility for the safety of *Venkanna*. The latter managed the matters cleverly by telling *Mustafa* that he would communicate the terms to his emperor *Sriranga* and arrange for his consent in the course of a week. It was only on Shahaji guarantee that the envoy was allowed to return to Vellore taking alongwith him one *Mulla Ahmed* ⁵³.

As *Sriranga* didnot agree to the proposals all chances of alliance with *Bijapur* failed, war became inevitable. Shahaji well meant intercession created misgivings in the minds of *Mustafa Khan* who was already having doubts about Shahaji's loyalty. *Asad Khan* was sent against *Srirangaraya* and Shahaji a second in command. The army passed through *Masti* and *Nayakanneripass* to *Gudiattam* ⁵⁴. It also entered into *Jagadevaraya's* territories of the '*Baramahal*' in the *Salem* district ⁵⁵. The chief *Jagadevaraya* was humbled and sieged from him *Krishnagiri*, *Ankushgiri*, *Devgiri*, *Veerbhadradurga*, descending into *Palar* basin till they reached Vellor. The Rayas army although tried hard to defend their capital couldnot do so and surrender agreeing to pay 50 lacs of gold pieces and 150 elephants as indemnitys ⁵⁶. The victorious army went on conquering territory in *Baramahal* like *Ambur*, *Gangavati*, *Tirapattur*, *Kaveripattan*, *Hasan*, *Raidurg*, *Ratnagiri*, *Melagiri*, *Arjunakote*, *Dhalenkote*. *Mustafa khan* suddenly recall by the *Adil Shah*. The newly conquered area was handed over to Shahaji as its administrator. *Yashwant Wadve* a Maratha chief was appointed and asked to be faithful to Shahaji ⁵⁷.

1.1.4.3 Expedition against Jingi

Srirangaraya the emperor of erstwhile *Vijayanagara* tried its utmost to bring together his selfish and war mongering feudatories, the *Nayakas of Tanjore*, *Madura* and *Jingi*. But selfishness and internal rivalry reigned supreme, so that the *Nayakas of Madura* and *Jingi* brought the Sultan of *Golconda* against their

own emperor, Sriranga. Together they drove him to woods. This fact has been brought to light by the Jesuit letters. "This grand monarch one of the richest in India was forced to beg for help from the king of Mysore, once the vassal of his crown".⁵⁸ The *Nayakas* achieved what they wanted, but failed to realise that they would be the next target of Golconda ambitions. The army under thier supremo *Mir Jumla* laid siege to *Jingi*⁵⁹. Surprised and greatly alarmed at this attitude of Golconda *Tirumalnayaka* sought the help of Bijapur to save himself from Golconda. Thus the Sultan of Bijapur got another opportunity to interfere in the South India, because of the invitation of *Tirumal* of *Madura* to drive away the armies of Golconda from *Jingi*. Both the Shahi kingdoms, since 1636 were trying to make most of their power felt on these disunited Hindu kingdoms. On June 12th 1648 *Mustafa Khan* with 17000 cavalry alongwith Shahaji and his 12000 men marched towards *Jingi*. They were joined by *Siddhi Raihan* and *Tirumal* with his 30000 infantry.⁶⁰

But to the utter discomfiture of *Tirumal* both *Mir Jumla* of Golconda and *Mustafa Khan* of Bijapur joined hands and negotiated for the leaderless territory dividing it among themselves. According to this arrangement the Southern and Western boundary marking the two spheres of influence ran North West from Madras in the Bay of Bengal and roughly followed the course the river *Palar* to its sources⁶¹. Shahaji scented the mischief and found that the Bijapur troops instead of helping *Tirumal of Madura* who had sought an alliance with them to defend *Nayaka of Jingi* was actually in league with Golconda. He saw that his Muslim colleagues had come to a secret understanding with the enemy and therefore decided to prolong the operations. *Mir Jumla* as per the negotiations withdrew from *Jingi* and busied himself in consolidation of his newly acquired territory⁶².

The Bijapur army took over from *Mir Jumla* and continued the siege of

Jingi. The fortress protected by its advantageous position gave a tough time to the besiegers. Revolt broke out in the midst of the general confusion and the gates of the citadel were thrown open to the enemy. The victors pillaged 'the richest in all these countries' ⁶³. The Bijapur army after becoming the masters of *Jingi* marched against the *Nayakas* of *Tanjore* and *Madura*. The former hid himself in the forest and the latter shut himself up in the fortress of *Madura*. But when they saw the enemy overrunning their ^(overrunning) dominance, opened up negotiations. Thus after conquering a vast country, subduing two powerful kings and gathering incalculable treasures without being part to the necessity of giving a single battle and almost without losing a single soldier. The Deccan army returned to Bijapur and made a triumphal entry ⁶⁴.

1.1.5 Shahaji under disfavour (1648)

In the midst of these prolonged operation Shahaji was arrested by *Mustafa Khan* on 25th July 1648. The reasons are innumerable and deep rooted.

Professional jealousy might have been one of the reason. His own colleagues could not bear to see the steady ascendancy of a Hindu to the top position. They spent no time in poisoning the ears of the Sultan. Shahaji was taking an independent course specially in 1642 and in 1645 when he allied with *Narasnayaka of Holenarsipur* and *Nanjunda of Periyapatana*. He was also found negotiating with various *Nayakas* of *Jingi* and *Madura* and *Tanjore*. He had even stood as a guarantee for *Venkayya Somaiyaji* the envoy of *Srirangaraya*. *Mustafa Khan* doubted Shahaji's loyalty and feared that he was 'secretly planning a powerful combination of the Hindu rulers of the country consisting of the *Nayakas* of *Madura*, *Tanjore* and *Jingi* and the chief of *Mysore*, *Kaveripattan* and *Ikkeri*. The coalition to be headed by the emperor *Sriranga* and Shahaji himself' ⁶⁵.

The chapter 15th of **Shivabharat** specially 4th and 6th stanzas provide us with ideas which might have been working in the minds of Adilshah. The most important allegation of the Sultan seems to be not visiting Bijapur court inspite of repeated invitations and orders. Kannada sources as well as **Shivabharat** reason that father was made to suffer for sons behaviour. Shivaji's incessant fights and seizure of territories belonging to the Bijapur kingdom were on the increase. There are enough evidences to prove that Shivaji was not the cause for Shahaji's arrest. Adilshahi's farman dated 27th May 1648 to Shahaji cleared him off the blame and restored his former jagir ⁶⁶.

It was purely an internal problem since the role of Shivaji is not mentioned in Bijapur description of Shahaji's misdeeds, capture, imprisonment and release says **Stewart Gordon** in his **New Cambridge History of India** ⁶⁷. This fact is confirmed by **Basatin'us Salatin** 'Some incidence happens which became the cause of disunion and disaffection between Shahaji and *Mustafa Khan* ⁶⁸. It further states that some of his rivals like *Baji Ghorpade*, *Asad Khan* were also included in this conspiracy.

The atmosphere of suspicion and doubts was heightened by the finding of a letter sent by Qutb shah to one of his *vazir*, *Haji Nasira* of *Bijapur*. The letter disclosed Shahaji's intention of joining Qutb Shah's service, which latter rejected and convinced Shahaji to serve Adilshah loyally. This letter is dated 23rd December 1647. ⁶⁹. This letter didnot affect the Sultan of Bijapur is evident from one of his farman of 11th January 1648 to Yashwantrao Wadve asking him to act in obedience to '*Maharaj Farzand Shahaji Bhosle*'. While **Sarkar** accuses Shahaji of 'Coquetting' with both the Rayal and Qutb Shah' referring to *Venkayya Somaiyaji*'s incidence. The *farman* of Muhammad Adil Shah laid the doubts to rest.

Balkrishna on the other hand does not express any doubt about the loyalty of Shahaji to Adil Shah. It is extremely unlikely that under such circumstances Shahaji could have thought of leaving his personal and ancestral *jagirs* for an insecure service under Qutb Shah ⁷⁰. It is unlikely also that a person like Shahaji who would even risk his life to preserve his honour would have cared very much for his ancestral *jagirs* and thought not of his honour is to do little justice to the nobility of this illustrious Maratha leader ⁷¹.

It appears that Mir Jumla, the Golconda General had territorial ambitions and was jealous of Shahaji who had succeeded unlike him. Hence he might have created evidence against Shahaji in the mind of the Bijapur sultan, but it appears to be a vain attempt for the time being.

The immediate reason seems to be lack of sufficient supplies to Shahaji troops. His request for more reinforcement was unheeded. Hence he sought the permission to leave the Bijapur army and go back to Bangalore as his soldiers were war weary, but *Mustafa* refused as he suspected Shahaji to act independently and caused trouble to the Government. Shahaji repeated request were looked upon with suspicion and the sultan was informed about this breach of order ⁷².

Already the Sultan was prejudiced against Shahaji by his intriguing ministers at the capital and this incident was the last straw and the Sultan ordered Shahaji's arrest. *Mustafa Khan* had to use deceit as he was well aware of Shahaji's power. He is supposed to have sent invitation to Shahaji for talks on the next year's expedition. Shahaji after making arrangements in Bangalore by placing Sambhaji there with eight of his trusted allies (Khandoji Manaji Mane, Tanaji, Khandoji, Bhandwalkar, Dasoji, Meghoji) and 3000 cavalry went to meet *Mustafa Khan* ⁷³. Shahaji was captured from his tent in the wee hours

of the morning unawares. According to **Brihadeswara Temple Record**, it was *Ghorpade* who captured Shahaji. Fight took place between Shahaji's and Ghorpade's men. How jealousy took the form of vengeance and cruelty is understandable the way in which Shahaji was brought in chains to the capital alongwith the huge loot loaded on 89 elephants brought after the fall of Jingi. The party might have reached Bijapur by about March 1649. *Afzalkhan* and others were honoured for the victory over Jingi, while Shahaji was put under arrest and was kept in the care of *Khan Ahmed*, a man of amiable nature. On behalf of the sultan he proposed to Shahaji to give up *Kondana* (Sinhgad) and Bangalore, the strongholds of Shahaji, which had the bearing of the germs of feudal autonomy. Shahaji accepted and sent letters to his sons (Shivaji and Sambhaji) to give up *Kondana* and Bangalore respectively to the authorised Bijapur officers. The loyal and obedient sons of Shahaji surrendered the forts and Shahaji was set at liberty on 16th May 1649 on bail after a detention of 10 months ⁷⁴.

The other reasons for Shahaji's release might have been Shivaji's *renewing* his political connections with the Mughals. *Shahazada Muradbaksh* is said to have assured Mughal help in releasing Shahaji from Bijapur hold ⁷⁵.

Adilshah was well aware of the Mughal intentions in the Deccan and South and added to it the recent negotiations of Qutb Shah with the Mughals forced him to release Shahaji. At the same time in the absence of Shahaji in the South the petty feudatories were rebelling against Bijapur. In the North Shivaji was attacking the Bijapur outskirts. He had killed *Musakhan* and driven away *Fatehkhan* who had been sent by the Bijapur sultan. In the Southern territory Sambhaji as well as the *Palegars* of *Chitradurga* (reference to Bicchukatti Bharmā, the brave and strong Chittakal) with 3000 cavalry and same amount of foot soldiers created havoc. It looked as if Karnataka

possessions would slip out from Adilshah hold *76. Shahaji was reinstated to his former position with all his royal insignias. He made *Kanakagiri* his headquarters. *Vyankoji* remained in Bangalore, Sambhaji joined his father at *Kanakgiri*, his another *jagir* in the present Raichur district ⁷⁷. After 3 years of stay at Bijapur he was sent to South in 1651.

1.1.5.1 Condition of South India Sans Shahaji (1648-1651)

In the absence of Shahaji between 1648 to 1651 *Mir Jumla* the Golconda commander had played havoc in the *Coromandal* coast. He conquered many places in this region. **English Factory Records** of Madras speak much about his military ability and bravery and his favourable relations with the Mughals. Even Golconda was not happy with the divisions of spoils after the conquest of Jingsi and complained that Bijapur had swallowed the lions share. War seems inevitable with Bijapur. ⁷⁸

Even Kanthirava took advantage of the situation and became very active. He maintained good relations with *Siddi Raihan* of *Sira*, who had rebelled against the Sultan of Bijapur. *Kanthirava* also tried to reinstate *Sriranga* to his former position. This was a cover to his aggressive policy ⁷⁹. Thus the Mysore ruler with the assistance from *Srirangaraya* and *Siddi Raihan* captured forts after forts in *Jagadevaraya territories*. This area has been conquered by Bijapur in the earlier expedition and was administered by Shahaji. They were *Virbhadradurga*, *Kanakgiri*, *Raidurga*, *Melagiri*, *Kaveripattan*, *Ratnagiri*, *Arjunakote*, *Dhallankote* ⁸⁰. *Kanthirava* also waged war on *Kempe Gowda III*, the feudatories of Bijapur and snatched *Magadi* from him. It seemed as if Bijapur was losing one by one of its recently conquered territories ⁸¹.

1.1.5.2 Shahaji in Action (1651-1654)

After the release from captivity Shahaji continued his military activities

with renewed vigour. It was like the phoenix rising renewed from its own ashes. In short span of four years from 1651 to 1654 A.D. was full of resounding victories in Karnataka.

1.1.6 The fifth Karnataka War.

The Fifth Karnataka Expedition to re-establish Bijapur hold over Karnataka. Shahaji crushes the Triumvirates (Kanthirava, Sriranga and Siddi Rahain.)

Shahaji accompanied by *Khan Muhammad* marched to stem the tide of Mysore army, assisted by *Siddi Rahain*, Sriranga sought the Mysore help. First *Siddi Rahain* to the knees and *Kanthirava* had to take flight from *Krishnagiri*⁸². *Kanthirava* though renewed his fight after getting fresh reinforcement failed again. So he sued for peace and as per the terms he had to pay the expenses of war. He got back all his territories on the condition of payment of annual tribute to Bijapur⁸³. Both the generals got huge presents and riches from the defeated party. *Sriranga* betrayed by *Tanjore* once again had to lose *Penukonda* in 1653 March to Bijapur. The Bijapur Commander in order to reach *Jingi* sought *Mir Jumla* permission to pass through his territory which was declined⁸⁴. Moreover *Mir Jumla* the commander of *Golconda* instigated the king of Mysore and *Sriranga* to revolt against Bijapur. The later relying on *Mir Jumla* organised an army but was besieged by Bijapur and driven out. He was given only *Chandragiri* with the revenue of certain districts. *Sriranga* was able to take back *Vellore* and re-enter his capital after an absence of nearly 6 years. This achievement recorded in epigraph of November 1653 in which a petty chief *Harati Hottenna Nayak* of *Nidugal* in *Tumkur* district proclaimed *Sriranga* as his sovereign⁸⁶.

In this expedition Shahaji played an important role in driving the triumvirates from his strongholds.

1.1.6.1 Nandyal Expedition

Shahaji busied himself in the Coromandal coast against *Mir Jumla*, who had played havoc in this region. Both the armies fought while Golconda army was being besieged in the hills round about Nandyal before January 14th of 1652⁸⁷. Even his master the Qutb Shah was put to the awkward position of securing the goodwill of the Adil shah by sending him presents. This was between January 14th and 27th of 1652⁸⁸.

The **Fort St. George** letter of January 1652⁸⁹ speaks of the defeat of *Mir Jumla*. Shahaji said to have crushed the Golconda commander and won a brilliant success. He is supposed to have extracted nine lacs of *hons* as the cost of war. (6 lacs pagodas as per F.R.)⁹⁰. "The defeat of *Mir Jumla* coupled with the victory of Shahaji over Sriranga at Jankal and the capture of Penugonda greatly enhanced the prestige of Maratha general and showed the world his martial geneous"⁹¹.

1.1.6.2 Rebellion at Kanakagiri (1654)

Shahaji had to deal with the rebellious tendency of *Appa Khan*, the kiledar of *Kanakagiri* (Raichur district) in the year 1664. Shahaji sent his eldest son (Born to Jijabai) Sambhaji to put down *Appa Khan*. The inscription of 1653 found at Kondapalli, Mulubagil taluka speaks of him with almost full royal titles such as, 'Rajadhiraj Sambhaji Raja Maharaj' since he was to lead the army to *Kanakagiri* he might have been honoured with these titles⁹². Sambhaji was joined by the army of *Afzalkhan*, together they seem to have besieged the fortress. The Marathi sources declare that Sambhaji was killed in the battle which is accepted by many scholars⁹³. The existence of inscriptions prove that he was alive even after *Kanakagiri* battle and lived upto 1663. The Marathi bakhars further state that Sambhaji died due to the deliberate negligence of *Afzalkhan* and later Shivaji paid him in his coin by destroying him in 1659.

Therefore on the strength of the inscription found in Karnataka the theory that Sambhaji died in 1653 should be rejected. The result of the battle is not known (according to Saletore it might have been an unsuccessful endeavour and the Marathas might have been misinformed about the death of Sambhaji).

The presence of Shahaji's letter to the sultan of Bijapur Adilshah dated 6th July 1657 is a clear proof that Sambhaji was alive and also that Sambhaji had to attempt another attack on *Kanakagiri* by about 1656-57. In the letter Shahaji has failed to mention about the death of his dear son, which is unlikely, although the letter mainly pertains to the victory achieved at *Kanakagiri* and *Anegondi*. Hence it can be summarised that another expedition either in 1656 or in the early months of 1657 was fought with the chieftan of *Kanakagiri* by Shahaji to compensate the earlier defeat⁹⁴.

Shahaji made *Kanakagiri* his headquarter temporarily as there were recurring outbursts from the Northern part of his *jagir*. He is set to have recruited 1500 soldiers to his army. He took *Kampili* (from the Ghorpade's) *Kundgol* and *Bellari* (from their respective chiefs) as they had posed rebellions. Thus Shahaji alone stood as a rock of Gibraltar when disintegration was setting in the last days of Muhammad Adil Shah.

Maratha sources vie with one another in praising Shahaji's achievements, an example is quoted below.

“Conqueror of Vidyanagara from brave Srirangaraya, Srirangapatanam from the cruel Kanthirava, Madura from Tirumal....”⁹⁵

The Bijapur conquest in these two decades from 1636 to 1656 had been in the charge of Shahaji and he with the help of his two sons Sambhaji from *Kanakagiri* and Ekoji or Vyankoji from Bangalore managed well. Shahaji

administered his considerably large *jagir* with great autonomy, tact and vigour.

1.2 SHAHAJI UNDER ALI ADIL SHAH OF BIJAPUR (1656-1664)

This phase is marked by consolidation of conquest made in the earlier period. It is also a period of fulfillment of having built a Maratha domain in the regions of Karnataka. Though under the Bijapur flag, he was for all practical purposes an independent ruler⁹⁶. He had the satisfaction that his son Shivaji had built up an independent sovereign kingdom of the Marathas in Maharashtra. In 1656 Muhammad Adil Shah died after prolonged illness. This was followed by court intrigues. His son Ali Adil Shah succeeded to the throne. Being a minor all the power was wielded by the Dowager Queen *Badi Saheba* (Taj-Ul-Mukahddirat).⁹⁷ With the death Muhammad Adil Shah Bijapur has lost its former vigour and power. The feudatories of the kingdom who had spread far and near acted at cross purposes, caring least for the centre. The kingdom has lost its best generals, *Afzalkhan*, *Mustafa Khan* and *Khan Muhammad*, consequently weakening the state.

Events in the Deccan continuously reacted upon the kingdom's general policy everywhere. Happenings in the North had much to do with the fortunes of the shadow empire of Vijaynagara and her former vassal state because Bijapur though disintegrated was no longer purely Deccani state. The empire had spread from *Nira* river to *Cauvery*, parts of this territory were directly administered by her while the rest was composed of tributary states formerly subject to Vijaynagara. The rise of Shivaji about ten years earlier introduced a new and unexpected factor in the politics of the Deccan. He was once a rebel had turned himself into a terror by 1653. He had established an independent and sovereign kingdom of the Marathas. Shivaji's territory included the tract roughly between the rivers *Bhima* and *Nira*, between *Pune* and *Shirval*⁹⁸. To add to the worries of Bijapur kingdom, the fanatical *Sunny* Aurangzeb had been

the Mughal governor of Deccan, vowing to destroy the *Shia* kingdoms. The correspondence between Shahaji and the sultan of Bijapur revealed how important was Shahaji to Bijapur kingdom at this juncture. Before taking any strong action against the rebel Shivaji, the *dowager Queen* wrote to Shahaji, complained about his son's misbehaviour and threatened to take Shahaji's *jagir*, if he failed to keep his son under control. When Shahaji disowned his son, her reaction was very significant. "We are satisfied with your explanation that you are not responsible for his acts. We have therefore restored to you all *jagirs* at Bangalore together with all the honours and titles which you formerly held." This document breathes the great confidence reposed by the overlord in his faithful vassal. Another letter written by Shahaji to the Sultan in about July 1657 throws clear light on Shahaji's position in the Carnatic. In this letter Shahaji mentions, the names of various expeditions which he undertook on behalf of the Bijapur sultan. The names of such places as *Kanakagiri*, *Anegondi*, *Bellari*, *Lakshmeshwar*, *Musalkal*, *Kadmaveli*, *Tamgaud*, *Vederu* etc. In this letter he is indignant and wants the sultan to realise his faithful services⁹⁹. 'It appears from the mention of these places that Shahaji's work of conquest included the vast region from the west coast to the East, near about *Jingi* and from *Godavari* in the North to about *Tanjore* in the South¹⁰⁰'. Thus Shahaji was recipient of large area in the South. The same territory was up in chaos. Shahaji was called to bring an order into Bijapur possessions which had gone way-wards in this confusing period.

1.2.1 Battle with Kempe Gowda III (1658)

Magadi, since 1653 had become a feudatory of Mysore. *Kempe Gowda* had to accept the subordinate position of Mysore due to the negligence of Shahaji. It was the duty of Shahaji as the representative of Bijapur kingdom to help *Kempe Gowda* against the invasion of Kanthirava. This had caused a strategic

place like *Magadi* to *Bijapur*. The reason for not assisting *Kempe Gowda* could be that Shahaji was just released from his captivity and he was busy putting his house in order. But this incidence became a cause for misunderstanding between Shahaji and *Kempe Gowda* which led to the battle of 1658. The latter assisted by the ruler of Mysore made war on Shahaji with the aim of capturing Bangalore. **Virbhadrachampu** of *Ekambar Dikshita*, the court poet of *Kempe Gowda* exaggerates and gives credit to his master for driving Shahaji out. However it is doubtful as no other source writes about this. It might have ended in a fiasco or an agreement. Meanwhile Kanthirava died in July 1659¹⁰¹. Succeeded by *Dodda Devaraja* (1659-73)

1.2.2 Expedition into South

Tirumal Nayaka died in February 1659 A.D. and *Muthu Veerappa* succeeded to the *Madura* throne. Following his father's footsteps he refused annual tribute due to *Bijapur* expecting a war, On this account he made vigorous preparations for defence¹⁰² by equipping the fortress of *Trichanapalli* and placed the fort in charge of *Lingama Nayaka*, bravest of his generals. *Vijayaraghava Nayaka* of *Tanjore* however instead of following his neighbours example and cooperating with him sent his ambassador to Ali Adil shah and he wasted precious time. Ali Adil Shah promptly sent an army under Shahaji and *Mulla Ahmed*, both entered into *Madura* territory¹⁰³ appeared before *Trichinnapalli*. Finding the place impregnable the army fell upon *Tanjore* on the 19th of March 1659 A.D.¹⁰⁴. *Vijayaraghav* fled to the fortress *Vallamakotti*¹⁰⁵, where he had sent his women folk and treasure leaving the defence of his capital to his son in law, who being wounded, surrendered. From *Tanjore* the invading army marched to *Mannarkovil*, captured it. Next they attacked *Vallamkottai*¹⁰⁶. *Vijayraghav* fled to *Talavarayan* and his followers followed him. The *Kallans* (thieves) plundered everything. *Bijapur* army found the place

empty. Before the close of 1659 Bijapuri's were already in possession of the *Tanjore* country ¹⁰⁷. Again in 1600 to 1662 the Bijapur army set out occupying Jingi and round about *Tanjore* area. Shahaji was active in the territory of Jingi taking the ports of *Tegenapatam* (Cuddore) on 4th February 1661 then *Portonovo* and *Poolere* about a mile from *Teganapatam*. The war around here was over by 4th February 1661 and Shahaji became the master of the above forts ¹⁰⁸. The Dutch company came under the command of Shahaji and the Dutch governor had faith in Shahaji and relied upon the strong forces at *Portonovo*. Moreover the Dutch took advantage of the conquest of Jingi and of the seaboard round *Tegenapatam* to obtain a grant of trade in the neighbouring ports ¹⁰⁹. It was also thought that it might be better to transfer the trade to *Poolere* and leave the premises at *Tegenapatam* under the supervision of an assistant of and three to four thousand soldiers. But the merchants were scared of Shahaji ¹¹⁰. Meanwhile at *Madura Muthu Virappa* succeeded *Chokkalinga Nayaka* aged just 16. With him state policies changed. He was patriotic and realised that without the union of all the three nayakas the Muslim armies couldnot be driven out from Tamil country. He sent *Lingama Nayaka* with 40000 army to take Jingi, but the latter proved a traitor. He took present from Bijapuri general and wasted time and money in fruitless campaign. At home the ministers tried to take over the reigns of the government and associated *Lingamma Nayaka* in this conspiracy. But the *Nayaka* found out the plot. *Lingama Nayaka* joined Shahaji and together they besieged *Trichinapalli*. Even *Vijayaraghav* of *Tanjore* joined with Bijapur. Yet *Chokalinga* triumphed in the end. With 70000 men he marched on *Tanjore* at this Shahaji and *Lingama Nayaka* fled towards Jingi. The *Nayakas* of *Tanjore* too submitted ¹¹¹. This must have been a temporary set back because the epigraph in the **Tanjore Gazetteer** confirms Shahaji conquering territories upto the tip of Pambanar. (Rameshwaram) ¹¹². The *farman* of Ali Adil Shah dated 14th January 1661

clearly states that *Chokalingappa* the *Nayaka* of *Madura* should know that *Madura* and *Tanjore* administration has been handed over to *Shahaji* while *Ambar Khan* is the *Sipay Salar* of *Karnataka*. Only these two people can interfere in the administration. The *farman* further reminds the *Nayakas* to send the tributes regularly ¹¹³.

The influx of Marathas under *Shahaji* downsouth has also been affirmed by an interesting fact that *Shahaji* lent his name to a village on the outskirts of the famous city of *Kumbhakonam*. It is '*Sakottai*' (*Shahakottai*) '*fort of Shahaji*'. The historians **S.K. Aiyangar** comes from that village and he had admitted that his village was named after *Shahaji* ¹¹⁴. The original word is sounded in Tamil as *Sakottai* at present. Less than a hundred years back *Shahaji's* fort withstood the ravages of time. Now it is dismembered to share its nonentity with the rest of Indian villages.

1.2.3 Expedition against Ikkeri Shivappanayaka (1659-1660)

Meanwhile *Shivappanayaka* of *Ikkeri* had become very powerful. He had taken important places belonging to *Bijapur* like *Vasudhare*, *Sakrepattana* ¹¹⁵. Later in 1659 taking advantage of the political confusion due to the death of *Muhammad Adil Shah* *Shivappanayaka* wrested *Ikkeri*, *Sorab*, *Udagani*, *Mahadevpura*, *Ambaligolla* in the *Shimoga* district. Next he attacked *Sondhe*, captured *Sirsi*, *Kakur*, *Banavasi* and other places *116. It is said that these places were taken from *Tamramukhi* i.e. 'The red faced (Muslims)' since *Bijapur* had conquered it earlier. He also turned towards *Krishnappa Nayaka* chief of *Belur* with whom he was at war on and often for many years. He captured *Hasan*, *Belur* etc ¹¹⁷.

Shahaji decided to punish *Shivappa* hence promptly agreed to help *Doddadevaraya* the *Mysore* ruler, when he approached for *Adil Shahi* help in

crushing Shivappa Nayaka of Ikkeri. **Keladi Nripa Vijaya** mentions the name of *Bahlol Khan* but is silent about Shahaji. *Shivappa Nayaka* is said to have shrewdly separated the enemies - Bijapur and Mysore. He dealt with *Hamparaja* the commander of the Mysore army and defeated him. Then he bought off the Bijapur officers by bringing them to stop the war, as a result the battle ended and the army retreated to *Ikkeri*.

Shahaji's later life is full of activities. In 1660 *Bhadrappa Nayaka* came to the throne of *Ikkeri*. Misunderstanding between *Ikkeri* and *Sonde* developed and the latter sought the help of Bijapur to destroy *Ikkeri* ¹¹⁸. Shahaji was sent to deal with *Bhadrappa Nayaka* ¹¹⁹. Alongwith *Bahlol Khan* and *Sharza Khan* Shahaji marched with a vast army and gave a bloody battle in *Ambargolla* near *Bhuvanagiri* defeating the *Raja*. The army marched rapidly through the *Bilusagara* pass and camped closed to *Todarhole*, then laid sieged to *Venupura* (Bidnur).

The Sultan himself came with more reinforcement and Shahaji invested *Bhuvanagiri* also, where the *Keladi* chief had taken shelter. *Bhadrappa* heriocrally defended the fort by blockading all roads, passes and other means of escape. According to **Keladi Nripa Vijaya**, *Bhadrappa* defeated each of the Bijapur general. But yet he took recourse to peace with the mediation of *Huvayya*. Both parties agreed for the terms of the peace ¹²⁰. *Ikkeri* had to pay 15000 pagodas as war expenses ¹²¹.

The English records discribed the situation in 1662-63 as very tense, 'since there is battle raging between Adil Shah and Kannada rulers'. The letter of February 27th confirms that Sondhe recovered their possessions with Adil Shahi help. Hence the road to Hubli, Yellapur had been cleared for trade ¹²².

1.2.4 An encounter with Mysore (1662)

Kannada sources mentions about Shahaji's war with Mysore. At that time the Mysore commandar was *Nanditimmaiya* (1662). He was enraged at Shahaji for betraying *Dodda Devaraja* in 1659 and joining with Keladi rulers for love of money. Hence he went on a conquering spree. He took *Chikkanayakanhalli* (the Annals mentioned this place under Golconda but it is wrong) ¹²³ forced *Chikkakempe Gowda* of *Gaganagiri* to give tribute and forcibly took *Gaganagiri* also. He attacked Bangalore fort, looted Shahaji's belongings ¹²⁴.

1.2.5 Diplomatic Treaty between Ali Adil Shah and Shivaji (1662)

Aurangzeb had become the emperor by 1658 July 21. Being the governor of Deccan twice from 1636 to 1644 and 1653 to 1658, he had alienated the Hindus and Shia Muslims by his fanatic Sunni partisanship. At this juncture Aurangzeb had become the emperor with vast power over men and money, with no elder statesmen who could advise him to drop this suicidal policy. Now Shahaji stepped in to join Shivaji and Bijapur kingdom to present a joint front to the Mughals. This diplomatic move saved Bijapur from the Mughal clutches for a pretty long time. Thus he made clear the way for the Marathas to spread their tentacles all over the South. However the incidence bring into the forefront the statesmanship of Shahaji at a critical time. The eternal truth that any government in any part of India can only thrive through tolerance for all religion and sects is clear. This clever move succeeded in making the 'rebel' Shivaji almost an equalent partnership with the reigning sovereigns. Bijapur granted all the demands of Shivaji. Shivaji had in his possession the territories from *Kalyan* in the North to *Phonda* in the South and from *Dabhol* in the West to *Indapur* in the East and Bijapur acknowledged Shivaji's complete independence in this area ¹²⁵. In 1662 Bijapur agreed to surrender to him the territories in the upghats from *Pune* to *Miraj* and the *Konkan* areas from the

West from Kalyan to the border of Goa. This treaty between Shivaji and Bijapur has been confirmed by the Dutch records also ¹²⁶. Both the parties undertook to defend each other from foreign aggressions and Shivaji promised not to harass Bijapur and he kept up his promise till the lifetime of Shahaji.

This opportunity of good understanding was fully utilised by Shahaji and he visited Maharashtra which he had left in 1636. He is supposed to have stayed there for six months with his family Tukabai and Vyankoji ¹²⁷.

1.2.6 Shahaji under disfavour again (1663)

Shahaji by now had succeeded in almost all the campaigns, his power and position increasing day by day, which must have prompted him to proclaim himself as an independent ruler. In 1657 he had complained in a very strong and indignant language about the discourteous way he was treated and had threatened that he was prepared to quit the service. Secondly Shivaji at this juncture had increased his power and prestige from *Pune* to *Satara* district and from *Konkan* to *Mahad* ¹²⁸. Recently Shahaji had visited Maharashtra to his sons independent kingdom hence the fear that Shahaji might join Shivaji against Bijapur was rife. Even *Revington* had a reason when he expected that both father and son would combine together and attack on Bijapur 'one months time more will we believe put an end to this trouble for Shivaji's father Shahaji that lies to the southward, is expected within eight days with his army consisting of 17000 men and then the intent for Bijapur. The king and queens residence whose strength consists only in men and they are not above 10000 soldiers. So that in all probability the kingdom will be lost' ¹²⁹. This didnot happen since Shahaji busied himself in the conquest of *Tanjore*, *Tegenapatanam*, *Portonovo* and paralysed the *Nayakas* of the South.

The sultan must have expected an offensive and defensive alliance of the

Nayakas of *Madura* and the commander of Shahaji (Antoji Pantulu Havildar) *Antoji Pantulu* was joined by *Ningamanayak* but it fizzled out and on the other hand the *Nayakas* secretly decided to attack upon Shahaji ¹³⁰. Meanwhile the same source says that *Bahlol Khan* was sent to punish Shahaji and acquire all the territories under him. Fearing danger the *Nayaka* of *Tanjore* agreed to pay 3 lacs *pardoux* to the Bijapur commander *Bahlol Khan* to help him wrest Shahaji's territory in *Arni* and *Bangalore* ¹³¹. But Shahaji was supposed to have cleverly won over *Bahlol Khan* to his side and the Bijapur court was alarmed at this turn of events. On the pretence of reconciliation the sultan of Bijapur invited both Shahaji and *Bahlol Khan* to meet him at Bankapur. The English Factory Letter confirms that the Sultan had come to subdue *Shivappanayak* ¹³². Here he demanded the person of *Bahlol Khan* to which his mother refused ¹³³ both Shahaji and *Bahlol* were arrested and released after two days with the interference of Huvayya ¹³⁴. Shahaji was restored to his former position.

1.2.7 Final encounter with Ikkeri (1663 December)

Th. 10075

Shahaji was sent again to put down *Bhadrappanayaka* of *Ikkeri* who had become aggressive. Shahaji is supposed to have defeated him and brought him under control. On his return journey he camped at *Hodigere, Chennagiri taluka, Shimoga district*. Here he was approached by the local people who complained to him about the trouble they were facing from the wild beasts. The Maratha general, fond of hunting and to help his people went to track and hunt the wild beasts. It is said that the leg of the horse on which he was riding got stuck in a hole, tripped and both fell to the ground. The fall was fatal, killing the best of the generals of Bijapur kingdom. This happened on 23rd January 1664. Vyankoji performed the last rites and constructed the *Samadhi* (Tomb) at *Hodigere*. The place where Shahaji died is called '*Layad Hola*', which suggest that Shahaji had his cavalry camp in *Hodigere*. The modest inscription on the

samadhi reads ‘*Shree Shaji Rajan Sa.... Madhi* ‘ The tomb measures 9x8 feet, 3 inches. A marble stone of 3 feet 8 inches length has been set up to keep the lamp. The department of Archeology has taken over this monument of historical importance. There is a *Bhavani temple* supposed to be built by a Maratha who had come alongwith Shahaji. The Maratha customs and tradition are being continued here. The temple was recently renovated. According to **Annual Report of the BISM, Pune**, the *samadhi* was being worshiped till 1733. Adil Shah gave a *sanad* granting Yergatanhalli for conducting worship at the *Tomb*. Shivaji heard the news after his return from sack of Surat and got a pavillion or *Chatri* put up ¹³⁵. The villagers state that a native of *Hodigere* one *Nadiga Gangana* had a Kannada *Bakhar* with him in which the local history about Shahaji’s death was described. The book was taken away by some cooperative inspector and was not returned ¹³⁶.

Thus ended the life of an adventurer who had come to seek his fortune in 1636 to Karnataka and succeeded in building up a Maratha kingdom after the downfall of Bijapur sultanate. The latter survived him not even 25 years.

1.3 Governance of Shahaji

Shahaji “appears to be a man of ability, both as a soldier and as an administrator”. ¹³⁷ He played an important part in the conquest of Southern Karnataka for the Bijapur kingdom. This newly conquered territory was especially allowed to be administered by him. After the death of Mouhammad Adil Shah in 1656, during the minority rule of Ali Adil Shah, there were dissensions in the court. They had no control over their feudatories. Shahaji could become almost a soverieign ruler of his possessions. His sanads issued in Karnataks do not seem to be given by Adilshah but from the court of Shahaji. ¹³⁸ Even Shahaji's reply to the Shah, about his son's (Shivaji's) behaviour has a mark of independence. The Dutch letters also confirm this fact. These included large tracts

of lands in *Karnataka, Bijapur - Balaghat* consisting of *Bangalore, Hoskote, Doddaballapura, Kolar and Sira*. While *Karnataka - Bijapur - Payanghat* consisted of areas of South of the Mysore kingdom below the ghats. Shahaji ruled over all these territories from *Bangalore* as also from *Kolar* and *Doddaballapura*. Shahaji, not only consolidated the ruling Hindu kings, but also followed a policy of consolidation. After the conquest, the chiefs who were restored to their territories were transformed to the less productive parts. This resulted in bringing under cultivation vacant lands and promoting neglected parts of the Country. Thus in the name of Bijapur government Shahaji took *Basavapattan* and gave *Tarikere* to Kenge Hanumappa, likewise in place of *Bangalore, Magadi* was given to Kempegowda. Similarly *Hoskote* was taken, *Anekal* was given to Sugatur chief. *Kolar* was added, while *Punganiri* was given away, *Sira* was kept, but *Ratnagiri* given away.¹³⁹ Thus all the ruling families were continued in existence, who inturn were grateful to Shivaji for retaining them.

The fact that Mohammad Adil Shah delegated the responsibility of administering these conquered areas to Shahaji and not to any of his other Muslim officers shows the profound faith in Shahaji's probity and administrative skill. It is evident that the Sultan never interfered in his territory as long as he received his dues properly. Shivabharat makes a pertinent point in this. It says Shahaji observed in his administration "as much moderation as was consistent with the indisensable object of collecting a large and regular surplus revenue, one part of which must necessarily be remitted to court and the remained form an accumulating fund to support the charges of future rebellion"¹⁴⁰

The Adilshahi dynasty had to utilise to a large extent the 'representative social stratas of the indigenous Hindus' and depended heavily upon them for carrying on almost all the aspects of daily local administration of the Sultanate.

The clear indication of this situation is found by about 17th century, when Hindu political power slowly but surely was revived in the Deccan. "To account for this rapid rise of the Marathas " writes **Fukazawa** the **Japanese historian**, " it may be assumed that certain institutional background must have been prepared during the Adilshahi period, that combined with the often described favourable political circumstances, the awakening of Hindu religious consciousness and the extraordinary military genius of Shivaji " ¹⁴¹

This administrative background was prepared by Shahaji in Karnataka as the Governor of a large conquered tract of land. As a representative of the Bijapur government, Shahaji was expected to introduce the *Dakhani* system of administration. He had already gained sufficient knowledge of the system under *Malik Amber*. Ranadulla the supreme commander of Bijapur, who died in 643 is supposed to have divided the conquered area into *parganas*, which were subdivided into "Samats", 'Tarafs', 'Mauje' ¹⁴² as per *Shahi* administrative pattern.

The conquered territory passed into the hands as Shahaji who had collaborated with Ranadulla in the conquest. **Shivabharat** confirms that after the Muhammadan commander (Ranadulla) passed away, "each successive general that Adil Shah sent to Karnataka to bring the chief's of that Country at once under his own immediate followed Shahaji and persued Shahaji's objects". ¹⁴³

Though quite familiar with Islamic pattern of administration Shahaji continued the indigenous system of administration handed down from the ancient days, but also became an "active protector of South Indian Hindu culture and literature". ¹⁴⁴ There are ample proofs to support this opinion, which will be explained as and when circumstances demand. The inscription of 1544 shows that the Maratha chiefs employed under Vijaynagara emperor were

granted titles like “*Maha Arasu*”, as they were entrusted with the administration of certain units like the ‘*Hobli*’, which they did through their deputies. (*Karyakartas*). This they did in the “purely Karnataka system of recovering revenue from the traditional eight sources”, and of granting lands to temples with all rights”.¹⁴⁵ This fact is affirmed by **R.N. Saletore**. He says, “ it is not wholly correct to think that the early Maratha rulers learnt their first lesson in the Science of public finance only from the Deccani Sultans in the fifteenth century,” but acquired practical knowledge from the Vijaynagara system.

Shahji used indigenous administrative terms, like ‘*Rajya*’, ‘*Sime*’, and ‘*Hobli*’. Inscriptions show that ‘*Rajya*’, or (Province), *Pargana* was divided into *Nadu* or *Sime* and the smallest unit being the village called ‘*grama*’, ‘*pura*’, ‘*uru*’ or ‘*mauje*’. Though the administrative divisions had a variety of names it is clear that a province consisted of many *Nadus* or *Simes*. They were composed of many smaller divisions called *Hublis*. The *Hoblis* in turn consisted of a number of villages. They were the last units of administration. An epigraph of 1680 of Sambhaji II describes *Chikkabaltapura* as a ‘*Rajya*’ or an administrative unit.¹⁴⁶ There are references of *Sime*, as in the case of a record of 1654, ‘*Kolar Sime*’. The next divisions was ‘*Hobli*’ in the inscription of 1670, it is mentioned as “*Sugatur Hobli*”. The ‘*Chavadi*’ or government office and treasury at *Kolar* has many “*Simes*” under its jurisdiction as per the record of 1666. Many Marathas were employed such as *Vittal Pundit Havaladar* of *Sugatur Hobli*, *Balaji Pundit* in *Kolar* region and *Dandoji Haibatrao*.¹⁴⁷ The village enjoyed a large measure of local autonomy. An inscription of 1654 found in *Kolar* clearly indicates the fact, when Sambhaji the eldest son of Shahaji was administering. The ‘*Komatis*’ of *Kolar* a border district deserted their village. The deputy of Sambhaji *Kanurayaji Punt* on learning this granted land to *Candaya Tambarhalli Depegowda*, below the tank called *Muduvadi Mallasandra* with “*Sasana*” or order

for (re) constructing it. The permission was granted by *Balaji Punditaraya* (Presumably a superior officer). The grant included lands in *Mallasamudra* and *Muduvadi*, together they yielded corn of fortynine 'Khandugas' (a measure). The transaction of the local authority to avoid de-population.¹⁴⁸

The rehabilitation of deserted village seems to have been a common phenomenon in the 17th Century. Some regions were deserted owing to the famines and oppressive methods of collection of taxes. When villages were deserted and the economic activity was paralysed the government tried to induce people to resettle in such regions and resume their professions. It was the duty of the local officers like *Patils*, as the agent of the Government to rehabilitate the deserted villages by offering them attractive terms to resettle.

There was also prevalent the 'Bara Baluta' or the 'Ayagar' system in Karnataka right from eastern Chalukyas to the Vijaynagara period. There is mention of twelve *Ayagars* in addition to the village officials like *Gauda*, *Senabova* (*Karanik*) *Talars* and other professionals, like boatmen, *barika*, watchman, *Totiga* (Inferior village servant). The stone mason, blacksmith, goldsmith, carpenter, barber and astrologer in every village to keep the socio economic life in rural community self reliant.¹⁴⁹ Two records from Chennapattana taluka mention three *Ayagars* namely carpenter, goldsmith and stone mason (C P 123 C o 77).

Shahaji utilised the services of his two able sons in administering his possessions, Sambhaji his eldest son from Jeejabai and Ekoji or *Vyankoji* from Tukabai Mohite. The former administered from Kanakagiri from 1648 onwards¹⁵⁰ and the latter from Bangalore. Sambhaji's son Kumar Kannarayaji Pundit administered *Kolar* region during his father's absence. Another son of Sambhaji named *Manukoji* or *Malukoji* seems to have ruled from *Hoskote* region in 1667

and the record speaks of him as “*Rajadhiraja Manukoji*” (B.L. Rice assigns the date for this record as 1727 which is incorrect as per Prof. S. Kamat because there is another record from Chintamani taluka dated 1685 and he feels that there are remote chances of a Maratha ruling over Hoskote in 1727, because by that time the area was Mughal control.¹⁵¹ From 1666 onwards there are epigraphs of *Jayatibaimma* the wife (*Kulastree*) of Sambhaji giving grants to Brahmins and temples.¹⁵² Her last inscription of 1693 ends with the information that she had already died by this date. Thus after the death of Sambhaji I Jayatibaimma looked after the territory. *Vyankoji* was given the responsibility of looking after Bangalore, this is confirmed by a grant of 1662 in *Siddalghatta* taluka, *Kolar* district which speaks of him as ‘*Ekoji Raja*’ ruling at that time. He must have ruled from Bangalore as successor of Shahaji till he conquered Tanjore in 1674.

Revenue System :

The administration system was so organised that the collection of revenue could be made with ease and promptness. **Jayaram Pindye** clarified that Shahaji was prompt enough to send the annual tribute to the *Sultan*, keeping him greatly satisfied. The remainder he kept for himself for the upkeep of administration as well as keeping an accumulated fund for future use¹⁵³ Shahaji in his letter to *Kanhoji Jedhe*¹⁵⁴ reveals the value of total produce of Bangalore as five lakhj hons (gold) which is also supported by *Radha Madhav Vilas Champu*¹⁵⁵

Shahaji brought trustworthy officials from Maharashtra, the *Deshmukh*, *Deshpande*, *Deshkulkarni*, *Kanungo*, *Saradgauda*. According to **A.S. Altekar** the prototype of these existed as early as eight to eleventh centuries in the Rastrakuta period, although different terms were used like *Nadgavundas* in Karnataka and *Desagramakutas* in Maharashtra. *Deshpande*’s, *Sardeshpandes* and *Deshkurkarnis* were their descendants.¹⁵⁶ The *Deshmukh* was chief of police

and revenue authority of a district, containing a number of villages. The *Deshpande* was the hereditary revenue accountant of a district also known as *Nadsenbova* in the local lingua. *Deshkulkarni* was the village accountant or clerk who kept all the public accounts of the village. *Kunungo* (a persian word) was an officer who expounded the law and signatory to all legal deeds.

Sarnadgauda was an inspector of accounts in district. It appears that most of the higher officials were from Maharashtra and the village officials must have been recruited locally as seen from the proper names. The administration of Shahaji and all other feudatories and kingdoms of Hindus and Muslims was by and large the same except in nomenclature of their designations. All the officers of the district in Shahaji's administration were equally important without each of their signatures, the contract or lease wouldn't be legal. When the *Deshkulkarni* wrote the *Kaulapatta* (the contract or the lease for the revenue) the *Deshpande* verified and signed in Marathi at the bottom of the paper, followed by other officials, the *Deshmukh*, *Kanungo* and *Sarnadgauda Amildar* sealed it. In the same manner, the work in the lower divisions was shared by the concerned officers. The village account was kept by *Shanbhog* or *Kulkarni*, while *Deshkulkarni* of that of *Samati* and *Deshpande* of *parganas* and *Kanungo* signed the *patta* or revenue agreements. He also kept a written register of the revenue of the district, and *Deshmukh* and *Sarnadgauda* controlled and inspected all accounts and reported them to their superiors.¹⁵⁷ The *Karyakartas* or deputies made arrangements for the collection of revenue while they themselves settled the land disputes as well as managed the financial administration under the jurisdiction.¹⁵⁸ The payment of revenue appears to have been in cash as the letter of 1683 says that Ekoji was receiving money payments as revenue. This shows that there was sufficient currency in the country for the sale of Paddy.¹⁵⁹ Moreover collection of revenue in cash was adopted by the Vijaynagara rulers. Sufficeint details are not available

to explain the detailed working of the revenue system of the Marathas in Karnataka.

Coming to the military administration of Shahaji, in Karnataka it can be said that '*fauzdar*' or *Havaladar* or *Mamalatdars* in each district and a commander at every fort alongwith contingent was appointed to protect the security of the region. Similarly a police magistrate called *Kotwal* would be appointed at the capital and other major cities, then a police contingent named *Thanedar* would be posted at every town and large village located in crown districts.¹⁶⁰ In the country side the hereditary chiefs (*Deskhmuh* or *Desai*) of a sub-district can the hereditary headman (*Patil* or *Mokadam*) of a village was responsible for the security in the area under thier charge. Usually every *Deshmukh* and sometimes even a village headman maintained their own militia for that purpose.¹⁶¹

Prevalence of espionage and postal system is brought to the fore by the existence of a firman of Adilshah to Shahaji. It states about the appointment of spies in pairs and postmen in the nook and corner of the city, which was meant to ensure speedy information and efficiency in the administrative system.¹⁶²

Formerly the accounts of all kinds were previously kept in Kannada but from Shahaji's period onwards Marathi became the official language. Even in the *Samsthanas* of the *Palegars* (chief of a palyas an administrative unit) where the revenue and military accounts has been kept in Kannada alone, started getting accounts verified and checked by the Maratha accountant for the satisfaction of some of the Maratha cavalrymen employed in the particular Palyas or units. They began to be copied in Marathi as well. Bijapur had Marathi as state or official language, alongwith Persian and Shahaji followed suit.¹⁶³ Thus Shahaji spread Marathi language alongwith his territorial expansion.

Shahaji and his successors paid attention to the welfare activities too. They constructed a number of tanks and ponds for irrigation. They emphasised on the construction as well as maintenance of tanks, ponds 'Kattes', Canals etc, and lastly wells. An inscription from 'Shivaganga' dated 1652 tells about construction of a well at Shivaganga hill ^{by} Shahaji. A record of Sambhaji I from Holur Hobli dated 1663, then of his son Kannarayaji Pundit in 1653 and lastly of Manukoji another son of Sambhaji speak of lands being donated as Kattukodige to the upkeep of tanks in the respective areas. Kattukodige was for the restoration of ancient tanks, the land under it was given as Kattukodige. It should be mentioned that the inscriptional source is not exhaustive and accounts for only a small percentage of what we find or notice in existence. The stones have been in many cases removed surrepticiously for washing or for drying dung cakes by the rural folk. The Tank Registers provide us the details. It was found out that although inscriptions speak of four tanks being built by the Marathas in Karnataka, the Register accounts for eight tanks. ¹⁶⁴

There are references of different types of land grants made in the Vijaynagar style. An inscription found at 'Golh' in Chikkaballapura taluka dated 1646 reveals how the Ballalapura kings (Marathas) granted a specified plot of land as a Surugu - Manyu. ¹⁶⁵ This system of bestowing lands as 'Manyu' was adopted by the Maratha chiefs of Ballalapura and Gooty as well as by the descendants of Shivaji. This chieftan of Ballalapura belonged to a family, which became an ally of the Ghorpade of Gooty later in 18th Century. ¹⁶⁶

The Marathas granted hereditary grants called 'Umbaligrants'. An epigraph of 1666 AD says that Rajadhiraja Khavana Sahebayya granted to Siddalinga Gauda the Nagaralli village of Chennapattanasthala of Kelale nad as an Umbali. ¹⁶⁷ Lands were given sometimes to get heavenly credit (Punya) A record of Shahaji found at Lakkur, Nelamangal taluka granted some specified

land to a Muslim divine *Banur Ahmad*.¹⁶⁸ The Marathas made grants to the *Agraharas* and the *Brahmanas* or to the temples with the permission to bequeath mortgage or sell such a property. The inscription of *Bevur* dated 1661 speaks of Maratha officers erecting 'Uyyalemantapa' at the temple. In 1666 *Jayatibaiamma* made a grant of land to the *Brahmanas of Hullur*. Sometimes we find local people or temple authorities entering into a regular agreement before the work was carried out, since it needed money and labour which had to be shared by all the interested persons. A grant for military services rendered is found at *Annehalli, Kolar* taluka in 1670 made by *Jayatibaiamma*. A field known as "*nettar Kodige*" was given to one *Annehalli Sankarayya* to be enjoyed by him free of all rights. *Nettar Kodige* is land given to the wife or sons or descendants of a warrior who dies in a fight or war. It was a '*blood gift*' which meant that it had to be permitted or ordered by the ruler, then the local officers and the *Brahmanas* of the locality would actually made the gift. This implies exemption from all taxes.¹⁶⁹ This is a strange or curious instance where we find communities having greater role to play in making donations of lands or money gifts for their maintenance and utilisation.

Thus the efficient administrative system setup by Shahaji, continued by his successors, can be said to be a good achievement of Maratha rule in Karnataka. Instead of introducing new administrative system in the conquered area, causing confusion, the Maratha officials carried on the existing system, handed down to them by the Vijaynagar kings with the help of their own men, which guaranteed maximum efficiency. Shahaji rightly earned the credit from his master, the Sultan of Bijapur. "The pillar of my kingdom" Farzand Shahaji Bhonsle"¹⁷⁰ Shahaji's jagir survived for nearly five decades in Bangalore district and included parts of *Nelamangala, Chennapattana* taluka and the whole of *Hoskote* and *Doddaballapur* taluka¹⁷¹

1.4 ANALYSIS OF EVENTS BETWEEN 1636 TO 1664

During the interim period that elapsed between the destruction of the Vijaynagar empire and the rise of the Mughal empire, the Delhi political ascendancy was trying its utmost to dominate the Southern part of India. The Hindus felt crushed beyond hope to assert their individuality, their nationality, their religion and culture from foreign domination. But still from within there was a lurking protest among the thinking Hindus to actively participate in practical protests and save their individuality. This time it was the destiny of probably Maharashtra to lead their people taking the clue from Vijaynagara. The fighting spirit of the people especially the Marathas had not died out completely. The fact that the sovereigns of Bijapur and Golconda engaged them in their mutual battles. But now the Bhosles inspired them to fight for *Swarajya* though Shahaji was in the service of the Adil Shahi regime. A close examination of these political and military manoeuvres will disclose his real intentions. Bound to support the military adventures of Ahmednagar, then Bijapur and Mughal regime he has persistently treated Hindu rebels with laxity, when fought for their own interest or religion. Thread of consistency can be found in all the subterfuges in which Shahaji indulged and later on secretly encouraged his own son to establish a Hindu *swarajya* ¹⁷².

As mentioned earlier the 1636 treaty between the Mughals and Adil Shahi had forced Shahaji to limit his activities in South. Avowing alligience to the Bijapur kingdom secured the position of royal prince 'Farzand' in the Adil Shah dominion maintaining his respectable position in the Muslim regime. According to the treaty Shahaji kept his *jagir* which he held from Nijam Shahi to himself, while dividing the rest of the Nizamshahi kingdom between the victors, i.e. the Mughals and the Adil Shahi ¹⁷³. Thus before joining the Bijapur service Shahaji

had under him *Pune, Supe and Indapur jagirs*. Thus apparently being in the service of Bijapur kingdom he transferred his *jagirs* of Maharashtra to his son Shivaji, to be administered by *Dadaji Konddev* and that of Bangalore to Sambhaji (his eldest) in the later period.

Shahaji after joining Bijapur service was given charge of 12000 strong cavalry. The internal family feuds were temporarily put to and end by dividing the property among the *Ghorpade's* and *Bhosle's*. Shahaji received 5000 cavalries in addition to 80000 villages ¹⁷⁴. Thus automatically his position got elevated and was perceived with high regards in Adil Shah court. It may be mentioned that unlike other feudatories Shahaji used to maintain robust standing army recruited from Marathas, loyal to himself ¹⁷⁵. It was imperative that Shahaji should assist in every expedition that was conducted in the Deccan. Although Adil Shah granted all his wishes, gave his necessary freedom to act but kept him under *Ranadulla Khan*. Of course both shared a very close friendship and held common ideas. Together the duo was successful in putting down the various *Nayakas* in the Deccan and South. The terrain being hilly and surrounded by dense forests, it was not easy to control hence they followed the policy of extracting huge sums from these defeated *Nayakas* and didnot bother much about addition to the kingdom. As a result of this policy the Hindu kingdom suffered only monetary loss but continued to retain their territory and thus gained the regard of the Hindu *Nayakas* who they regarded as their saviour. This position held good as long as *Randulla Khan* was alive. After *Randulla Khan's* death *Afzalkhan* and others of his ilk were jealous of Shahaji's position and this ongoing feud between the two was obscured by political necessities and the hatred lasted till Afzal met his death at the hands of Shivaji in the year 1659. But when Adil Shah together with Qutb Shah specially *Mir Jumla* planned to extirpate these kingdoms. Shahaji was either

indifferent or did not participate actively. The recurring political or court intrigues must have prompted Shivaji to secretly assist Shivaji to establish Swarajya in Maharashtra ¹⁷⁶. Shahaji should be given full credit for creating a favourable atmosphere for a successful rebellion of Shivaji against Bijapur. Shahaji's letter to the Bijapur court signifies nothing but sturdiness, in which he wrote that Shivaji was a rebel against his wishes and that he be severely dealt with by the king in anyway as thought desirable. There are references of Shahaji sending experienced and able Maratha officers with messages to Shivaji ¹⁷⁷. With the political acumen and long experience in military strategy Shahaji could gauge the situation and convince Ali Adil Shah to maintain friendly relations with Shivaji. He rightly feared that Aurangzeb after clearing the obstacles and achieving his objective would march into the Deccan with full force. He wanted the Deccan principalities to pose a combined front to face the Mughal danger and onslaught. Thus initiated a secret understanding - a treaty between Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur and Shivaji ¹⁷⁸. Thereby Bijapur recognised Shivaji as an independent ruler and secondly Shahaji could now hold his head high as the father of a potential potentate. Later in 1662, Shahaji visited Maharashtra after a lapse of 26 years to his sons independent, sovereign kingdom ¹⁷⁹. Now he could fulfill his long standing wish of visiting his *watan* or *jagir* and his people. For the Marathas the sense of belonging to their watan in Maharashtra was always deep and abiding. With Ali Adil Shah's permission Shahaji left for *Pune* via *Tuljapur*. Here he visited his family deity Tuljabhavani and from its hillock witnessed the surroundings and had nostalgic reminiscences of his early struggles and escapades from the Mughal pursuers. He visited *Pandharpur*, *Shikar Shingnapur* and met the *Nimbalkars* of *Phaltan* ¹⁸⁰. Shivaji sent *More Trimbak Pingale* to welcome his father and with state honours Shahaji was welcomed to *Jejuri* in the presence of the *Khandoba* (family deity of Bhosle's) the family met. Shahaji as per *Radha Madhav Vilas Champu* toured

the entire kingdom of Shivaji - *Raigad, Torna, Sinhgad, Purandar, Pratapgad, Vishalgad, Panhala, Rangana*, then reached *Raigad* after two months. He is supposed to have approved the project plan and the reconstruction of *Raigad* fort and the capital. For six months he stayed in Maharashtra, happy and satisfied at his sons achievements. He presented his sword, *Tulaja* to him. He returned to Karnataka at the end of the year 1662. Throughout his life though busy with battles in Karnataka. Shahaji had been a good father guiding the destiny of his son Shivaji. His ideas of *Swarajya* were planted by Shahaji right from childhood and throughout Shivaji's formative years from 12 to 14 years. These grandiose plans were further strengthened by his mother *Jijabai*.

Rajwade one of the pioneering Maratha researcher in his foreword of *Radha Madhav Vilas Champu* gives all the credit to Shahaji as the forerunner of the idea of *Swarajya* ¹⁸¹.

'It is true that Shivaji has been given the sole credit for establishing for the first time a Maratha *Swarajya* but the basic idea was nurtured by Shahaji. Due to circumstances and through devious methods he gave an impetus to the Maratha Nationalism and he is entitled to his share of the credit from Historians. The Sardars and statesmen like Pingale, Atre, Dadaji, Kansambal, Rosekar, Jedhe and Bandal, who later helped Shivaji were trained under Shahaji. *Jagirs*, the Cannons, the elephants and the horses were Shahajis. The forts and fortresses and most of military apparatus and chattels of various sites were Shahaji's. With these resources Shivaji built his kingdom brick by brick. Shivaji didnot get it from vacuum. On the other hand Shivaji on the piggy back of Shahaji rose to royalty from sixtynine clans of noble Maratha origin like those of Nimbalkars, Mohites, Jadhavs, Mahadiks, Gaikwads, etc. With whom Shahaji had linear and fraternal relations. Shivaji inherited their unfailing loyalty. In short Shivaji became the successor to Shahaji's gift which he could give to his

son and heir. Though Shahaji failed twice in 1630 and 1633-36 in establishing an independent kingdom in Maharashtra he had the satisfaction of ruling over an extensive kingdom independently in Karnataka. His life was full of 'romantic adventures, extraordinary fortitude, wisdom and foresight distinguished with statesmanship and generalship of high order'¹⁸². Thus Shahaji's life has definitely provided an illustrious example to Shivaji for establishing his Swarajya.

1.4.1 Shahaji and Keladi or Ikkeri rulers

Shahaji's military career in Karnataka began with the expedition with *Ikkeri* which resulted in the acquisition of territory and money worth thirty six crores to Bijapur. After that *Ikkeri* ruler *Virbhadrappa Nayaka* had friendly alliance with Bijapur against their common enemy Mysore. It was only in 1646, when *Shivappa Nayaka* came on the *Ikkeri* throne that relations were strained due to independent temperament of *Shivappa Nayaka* who tried to recapture the lost territory during his predecessors period. *Bhadrappa Nayaka* period once again there was resurgence of ill feeling and fighting began, but ended due to the intercession of *Huvaya* of *Bidnur*. In 1664 the Sultan sent Shahaji to curb the power of *Bhadrappa Nayaka*. Shahaji defeated him in the battle of at Hodigere. On his return journey this *hulking* sardar of the Maratha chivalry could not turn down the offer of a stint of a hunt to the stricken villagers. His compliance unfortunately put an end to this genius of many talents. Shahaji's horse fell into a ditch with him. He sustained mortal injuries. So the story of Shahaji's exploit in Karnataka began with *Ikkeri* and ended with *Ikkeri* as well. He died where he has first begun his earlier expedition under *Ranadulla Khan* in 1637.

1.4.2 Shahaji and the Mysore rulers-Kanthirava Narasara Wodeyar

Of the two important rulers of Karnataka *Ikkeri* (Keladi) and *Mysore* under *Kanthirava*, the latter stood up against the sultanate of Bijapur till its extinction

at the hands of Aurangzeb. When a forceful ruler of Mysore appeared on the scene, Bijapur had to restrain its ambition or seek the aid of either *Keladi*, *Sondhe* or disloyal feudatories of *Mysore*. The area of fighting being limited to these two states. They bumped into each other quite often leading to annual expedition of Bijapur. The wars ended with extortion of money and territory by Bijapur. In this mutual struggle Shahaji was the recipient of some conquered territories like *Bangalore*, *Kolar*, *Anegondi*, *Basavapatnam*, *Kanakagiri*, *Arni* alongwith *Jingi*, *Tegenapatana* and *Portonovo*. He could establish a semi independent, semi autonomous, fiefdom initially. During the later period of the Adil Shah, in the absence of powerful sardars, Shahaji administered them independently.

1.4.3 Shahaji and Kempe Gowda of Bangalore.

In 1637 Shahaji and *Kempe Gowda* met face to face in the battle field wheer the latter exhibited his valour as it was a life and death struggle for him to defend his small kingdom from the mighty Bijapur army. At last *Kempe Gowda* succumbed and had to sue for peace. The conditions of peace were stringent. *Kempe Gowda* had to surrender Bangalore, his most cherished place. He had been instrumental in beautifying it, providing irrigational facilities and other public amenities, secondly he had to pledge his son to save his life. *Ranadulla Khan* the Bijapur commander was bent upon extirpating this tiny hurdle. Shahaji interfered and gave a new lease of life to the fallen but proud warrior. He suggested giving *Magadi* and surrounding areas instead of Bangalore.¹⁸³ He had the idea of making Magadi as buffer state between Mysore and Bijapur kingdom. Shahaji must have forethought an annual expedition against Mysore whose interest clashed with that of Bijapur in the expansion of the territory and Magadi proved a strategically important place.

Bangalore was handed over to Shahaji by *Randulla Khan* on the orders of

Adil Shah. This was given in place of *Kampili* which Shahaji had lost it to his cousin *Ghorpade* which he always resented. With the acquisition of Bangalore Shahaji was able to wage annual expedition into Mysore and Srirangapatnam. Shahaji maintained a cordial relations with *Kempe Gowda* who remitted regular dues to Shahaji. In 1648-49 relations were strained due to the indifferent attitudes of Shahaji. He was just released from his confinement. He was out of his *jagir* away in Bijapur for four years. Sambhaji was in charge of Bangalore. At the same time *Magadi* was captured by *Kanthirava* and *Kempe Gowda* had to submit to *Wodeyar* over lordship. *Kempe Gowda* expected Shahaji to help him against Mysore. This inability on the part of Shahaji not only led to misunderstandings but loss of *Magadi* to Bijapur and brought about the war of 1658. *Kanthirava* with the help of *Kempe Gowda* attacked Shahaji, *Virbhadra Champu* claims victory to *Gowda*,¹⁸⁴ but it is doubtful. The relations remained sour till the end.

Thus Shahaji succeeded in conciliating the petty kings and consolidating the Bijapur conquest to his advantage. This Maratha kingdom in Karnataka survived for twenty three years after its founder's death.

MAP - I

KARNATAKA ON THE EVE OF SHAHAJI'S ENTRY INTO ADILSHAH KINGDOM.

Karnataka was divided among many big and small kingdoms . According to the *Shahajahan - Adilshah* treaty of 1636, the Adilshahi's of *Bijapur* and *Quthshahi's* of *Golconda* were given a free hand to acquire the South Western and Eastern part of Karnataka.

The Southern kingdoms which were the feudatories of erstwhile Vijaynagar kingdom were further subdivided. They ruled independently and were at loggerheads often. In Karnataka, *Mysore* and *Keladi* were important kingdoms followed by *Chitradurga*, *Sondha Harapanhalli*, *Belavadi* etc.

The *Mysore* kingdom was ruled by *Chamraj VI* (1617 - 37) and then by *Kanthirav Narasraj* (1638 - 1659) *Wodeyar* with *Srirangapattam* as their Capital. *Kanthirav* brought under his control vast territories after defeating the powerful cheiftains. Most important among them were *Morasu Vokkaligas* or *Yelahanka Nad Prabhus*, who controlled *Bangalore*, *Nelamangal*, *Ramnagaram* and *Magadi* taluka of *Bangalore* district and parts of *Kunigal* taluka of *Tumkur* district. *Kempe Gowda* founded *Bangalore* in 1537 and his son of the same name ruled over during this period. He owed allegiance to the *Mysore* ruler.(Kast Gaz. B'lore dist. Rulers)

The *Sugtur* chiefs ruled over *Hoskote* in *Bangalore* district, *Anekal* taluka and large part of *Kolar*, *Sidalghatta*, *Mulabagil*, *Chintamani* and *Bangarpet* taluka. These chiefs considered themselves feudatories of *Kanthirav*.

Avatinad Prabhus of *Devanhalli*, *Malla Baira Gowda* in *Bangalore* district founded *Ballal Pura* and extended his hold over both *Dodda* and *Chikka*

Ballapura which yielded a revenue of a lakh of pagodas. His descendants continued to be the feudatories of *Kanthirav* till they were reduced by the *Bijapur* army under Shahaji.

Hole Narsipur under *Narasimha Nayak*, *Periyapattan* under *Nanjundraja*, *Chennayya* of *Nagamangal* all of them were reduced by the Mysore ruler. (*Karnataka State Gaze*. Bangalore District Pages 70 - 72).

To the North West of *Mysore* was the kingdom of the *Keladis*. Their Capital was at *Ikkeri*, later they shifted to *Bidnur*. The ruler of this time was *Virabhadra Nayak* (1629-45). The *Keladi* kingdom extended from *Mirjan* in the north to *Masur* in the north east, *Holalkere* in the East and to the south *Mallipattam* and West till the Arabian sea. (*Chitnis K.N, Keladi Polity*).

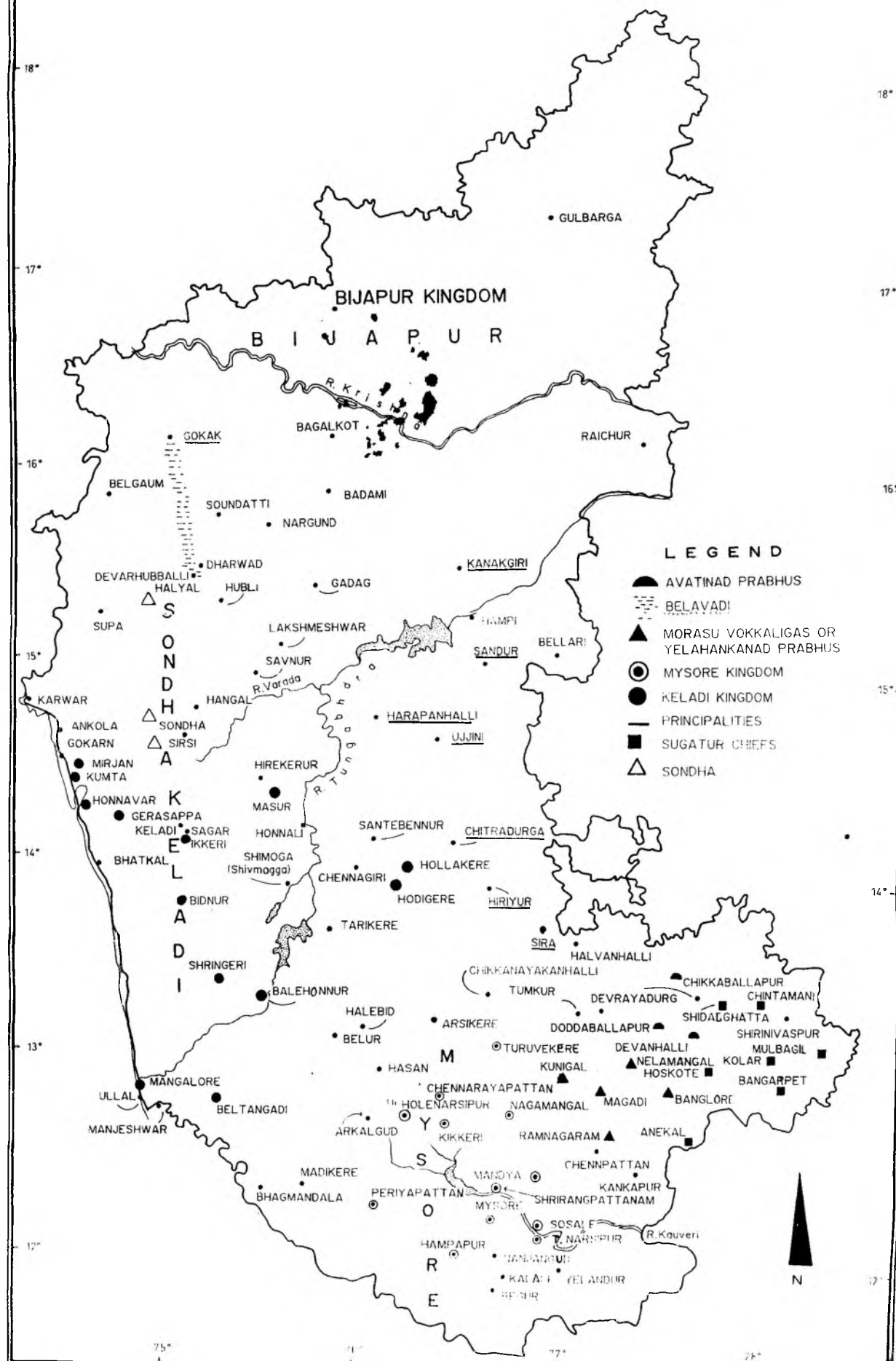
To the north of *Keladi* kingdom was *Sondha* or *Sode* kingdom extending from *Halyal* in the north to *Sirsi* in the south.. (SMS)

To the north of *Sondha* was *Belavadi* principality expanding from *Gokak* in the north to *Devarhubbali* in the south. (SMS)

There were also big and small principalities like *Chitradurga*, *Sira*, *Kanakgiri*, *Sondur*, *Ujjini*, *Hiriyur*, who owed their allegiance to their powerful neighbours depending upon the power politics.

KARNATAKA ON THE EVE OF SHAHAJI'S ENTRY INTO ADILSHAHI KINGDOM

MAP I



MAP - II

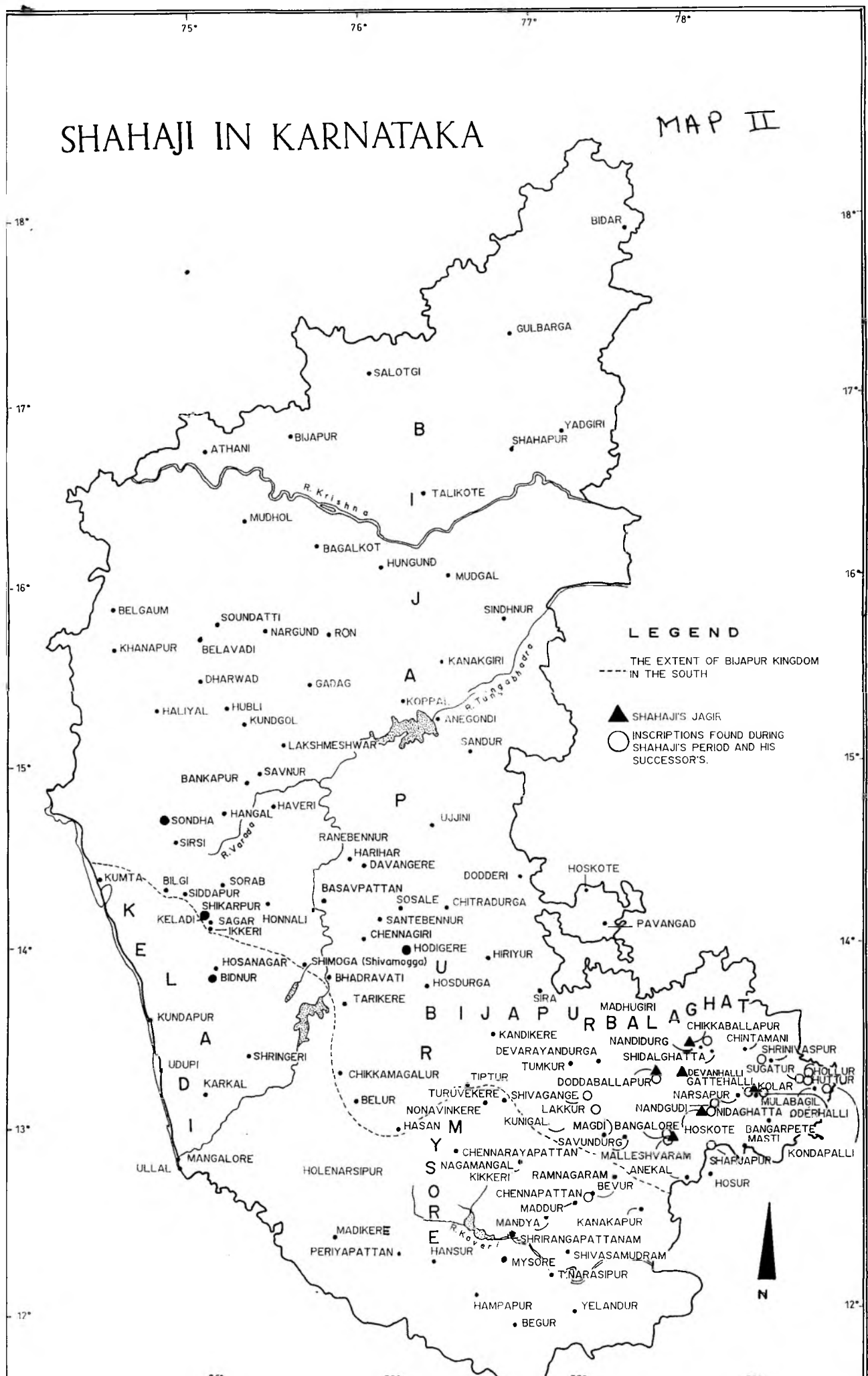
SHAHAJI IN KARNATAKA

Bijapur extended its southern boundaries considerably by about 1650, with the help of powerful nobles like *Ranadulla Khan, Shahaji, Afzal Khan* etc. Shahaji administered a large tract of land called *Bijapur Balaghat*. At the same time he acquired a large jagir consisting of *Bangalore, Hoskote, Doddaballapur, Kolar* and *Chikkaballapur*.

The inscriptions of the period of Shahaji and his successors are found in and around his jagir. The list of which has been given below -

1. *Hancharhalli / Hankipur* of *Sambhaji I* found in *Dodda Ballapur* dated 1647.
2. *Sharjapur* record, dated 1650, found in *Bangalore* district.
3. A record of *Shahaji* found in *Shivganga*, dated 1652.
4. *Kondapalli* inscription from *Mulabagil* taluk of *Kolar* district, dated 1653.
5. *Sambhaji I*'s record from *Kolar* taluq of 1654.
6. *Shahaji's Lakkur* record *Nelamangal* taluq dated 1657.
7. *Gattephalli* inscriptions of *Sambhaji* of 1660 from *Kolar*.
8. *Huttur* inscriptions of *Jayati Baiamma* wife of *Sambhaji I*, dated 1660
9. *Bevur* record of 1661 found in *Chennapattan* taluq.
10. *Vyonkoji's Sidalghatta* record of 1662.
11. *Sambhaji's* 1663 record of *Mulubagil* taluq.
12. 1663 record of *Hollur, Kolar* of *Sambhaji*.
13. A record of *Malukoji* - son of *Sambhaji I* from *Hoskote* taluq dated 1667.
14. *Jayatibaiamma's Sugatur, Kolar* district dated 1670.
15. *Vyankoti's, Malleswaram, Bangalore* record dated 1669.
16. 1680 record of *Oderahalli, Kolar* district.
17. 1685 *Nandgudi, Hoskote* taluq record.
18. *Jayatibaiamma's* last record dated 1693.

MAP II



CHAPTER 1

Footnotes

1. GSS, *NHM*, P 61
2. Ibid, P 65
3. Ibid, P 69
4. H.K. Sherwani, *History of Medieval Deccan*, Vol I, P 359 - 360, V.C.;
Bendre, Maloji Raje ani Shahaji Raje yanchi Vichikistak charitre, P 307.
5. V.C. Bendre, P 362
6. GSS, P 69
7. *SHIVDIG*, P 50. *RMVC*, P 78
8. Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, P 58
9. S.R. Sharma, *MHR* P 75
10. Duff, *History of the Mahrattas*, P 60
11. *Shivaji Souvenir*, PP 115 - 6, P 60. Shiv Ch-Pr, P 39
12. BISM QJ, P 60
13. Verma, *Md Nama*, P 24, *Shiv Nib*, Part II, P 93
14. *MHR*, P 70
15. Ibid, P 75. GSS, P 76
16. Sarkar *Modern Review*, July 1929
17. P.M. Joshi, Notes on Keladi and Karnatak from Persian Sources, P
18. Ke N V, P 99
19. *Annals*, P 72
20. *Shiva Nib* Part II, P 96. Bal, Part I, PP 110-13
21. V.C. Bendre, P 472
22. *KNV*, 11 Canto, P 198. See Apendix II
23. GSS, P 78
24. *KNV*, P 198-199
25. Ibid
26. Ibid 11, P 43. GSS, P 78
27. *Md Nama*, P 32, *Shiv Nib*, Part II, P 120
28. *Shivbharat*, P 43
29. GSS Comm, Vol I, P 75. Muddachari, P 23.
30. *KNV*, P 120
31. EC III, 1 Sr.103
32. EC III, NJ, 198
33. Wilks, *Hist of MY*, I, P 59. SKA, *Ancient India*
PP 292-295, Hayvadanrao, *Hist of MY* Vol I, P

34. *Md Nama*, SKPS, II, P 171
35. *Annals* I, P 75-76. *Shiv Nib* II, PP 99-100
36. *Shiv Nib* II, P 100. *Ke NV* V, Canto VI
37. *KNV* Vs 32-91
38. *Annals*, PP 85-86. *MY DO Purvo* I, P66
39. *MY DO Vam*, PP 78-79
40. *KNV* 11, V 66. *Annals* I, P 88
41. *Ibid*, 12, V 46-56
42. *EFL*, PP 115-6
43. *SKA*, P 25
44. *KNV*, 12, Vs 46-66
45. *KNV*, 18, Vs 20, 182, *Chi Vam*, P 53, *Chik Vij*, P 135
46. *KNV* 19, Vs 1-13
47. *Ke NV*, P 106
48. *EFL*, PP 25-26, *KNV*, 19, V 95-100
49. *Annals* I, P 188, *KNV*, 19, Vs 95-100
50. *JIH*. Vol 25, 1947. P 196
51. Ram Sharma, P 279
52. See Ref to *Md Nama* on P 48 of *SKA*, Barada lectures, P 49
53. Ram Sharma, P 347, Footnote, P 279
54. *Ibid*, P 280. *SKA*, Baroda lectures.
55. *EFL*, 1645-50, P 25-26
56. *SKA*, PP 410-413. *Shiv Nib*, P 113-114
57. Ram Sharma, P 280
58. *La Mission* III, PP 42-43
59. *Ibid*, P 40
60. Ram Sharma, P 282, *Shiv Nib* II, PP 124-126
61. *Ibid*, P 283
62. *La Mission*, P 46
63. *Ibid*
64. *Ibid*
65. C.S. Srinivasachari, P 77, from Sardesai comme Vol I, *Shivbharat* Ch 11-12
66. 91 *Qalami Bakhar*, P 31
67. Gordon, Vol II, PP 57-58
68. *Basatin-us-Salatin*, PP 73-74, S.R. Sharma, P 76
69. V.C. Bendre, P 454, *Mod Review* Vol XLVI, P 12
70. *Bal*, PP 128-129
71. C.K. Srinivasan, P 64
72. *Md Nama*, P 356. Ram Sharma, P 284
73. *RMVC*, P 80

74. GSS, P 85, Bendre V.C, PP 452-453
75. *BISM*, Sanskriti I, P 46, *House of Shivaji*, PP 111-118
76. *RMVC*, P 87-89
77. GSS, P 86
78. *Sources*, P 23
79. SKA, Intro to the *Hist of Madura*, P 133
80. Ibid, Baroda lectures, P 54
81. *Mysore Annals*, Part I, P 70. Ram Sharma, P 287
82. *Mod Review*, 1929, P 582
83. Ibid, P 502
84. SKA, Baroda lectures, P 20
85. *EFL*, 1651-54, P 33
86. *EC XII*, Nidugal, P 59
87. Ram Sharma, P 363
88. Sir William Foster's note to the Dutch records,
dated Jan 14 of 1652, *EFL*, 1651-54, P 99
89. *EFL*, 1651-54, P 99
90. GSS, P 87
91. Bal, PP 139-40
92. Saletore R.N., *JOR*, Vol 13, P 59
93. GSS, P 78. Sarkar P 38, Kin Par P 147, Takhakhav, PP 51-52, Duff, P 116
94. *Shivaji Souvenir*, P 138, *House of Shivaji*, P 87
95. *Sources*, P 13
96. *EFL*, 1655-60, Surat, P 235
97. *Shiv Ch Vrit San*, Part II, P 6
98. GSS, P 111
99. *Shivaji Souvenir*, P 139
100. Ibid, P 136
101. *Annals*, Part I, P 93
102. *Hist of Madu*, P 51
103. *La Mission*, P 247
104. Ibid, P 270
105. Ibid
106. *Hist of Madu*, P 51-53
107. Proenza's letter of 1662 on P 119 of *La Mission*
108. Dutch record in Baroda lectures of SKA, P 57
109. *JIH*, Vol 20, P 213, The capture of Gingee by Bijapur
by Bernard Andarson, Hague transcript, foster, Op ct, 1651-54, P 30
110. *EFL*, P 30, Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, PP 80-89, Ram Sharma, P 309
111. Proenza's letter of 1662 from *La mission III*, P 122

112. *Tanjore Gaz*, P 253
113. *APS*, Part 5, PP 179-80
114. *SKA, Ancient India*, Vol II, P 424
115. *KENV*, 12, Vs 114
116. *Ibid*, Vs 110
117. *Ibid*, Vs 109
118. FR, KWR to Surat, Dated 27th Feb 1663, Bal, Vol I, Part II, P 98
119. *KENV*, Vs 120
120. *Ibid*
121. Dagb Reg 1664, P 323, *JBHS*, Vol III, No 2, Sept 1930, P 265, Bendre, P 527
122. FR, KWR to Surat, 28th Nov 1662, P 247, *EFR*, No 51, P 44. Bendre, P 527
123. *Annals*, P 97. The work mentions this place under Golconda, which is wrong.
124. MY Do Purvo, P 21, Wilks I, P 37. *My Arch Report*, 1942, P 89
125. *Bel Gaz*, P 113
126. FR, 1664 June to 1665 March, Bal, PP 115-116
127. Marathi Chronicles like *Shiv Dig* (PP 199-204) *Chitnis Bakhar* (P 194) *Shiv Pratap* (P 121), *Shedgaonkar Bakhar* (P 65-69) *Qalami Bakhar* (P 19-20) All refer to the meeting of Shahaji and Shivaji, though Shahaji period of stay in Maharashtra differs in each of these sources, *Sabhasad* strangely doesnot mention about this historic meeting nor does *Jedhe Sakavali*. While *Basatin-us-salatin* as well as Dutch records mention about this incident (SHEJ P 212; Bal PP 115-116) English records are also silent on this hence Shejwalkar maintains that the period between 1661 to 1663 was very busy and hectic for both father and son, hence they couldnot have indulged in meeting one another (P 212-3)
128. Sarkar, Shivaji and his times, PP 57-58
129. *EFI* 1655-60, PP 27-30, *JIH*, Vol I, Part II
130. Dagb reg, 16th May 1661, P 161
131. *Ibid*, 11th April 1663, P 147
132. *EFR*, 1661-1664, P 239
133. *Ibid*, P 236
134. *Ibid*, P 237
135. *Annual report of the BISM*, 1915-16, P 135
136. *Annual report Archeological survey of Mysore*, 1940, Shimoga district, P 58
137. *SKA*, P 423
138. Wilks *Hist of My*, P 75
Even his answers to the Shah about his son's behaviour has a mark of ndependence maintains N.S. Takakhav in his life of Shivaji. P 47. The Dutch letters also confirm this fact, Dag Reg 1661, P 40, Bal, Vol I Part I, P 155.
139. Hayavadanrao, *My Gaz* Voi II, IV. P 2428
140. *Shiv Nib*, PP 18-19.

141. *The Medieval Deccan*, P 2
142. Rice, *My. Gaz.* P 588
143. Shiv. Nib.. P II, 185, PP 18-19
144. C.K.Srinivasan, P 111
145. R.N.Saletore, *JBBRAS*, Vol. IX. 1939, P 43
146. EC, X, K II, P 32
147. EX, IV, CP, P 68
148. EC, X, KI, P 60
149. *Ka St Gaz*, Bangalore Rural Dist., P 586
150. GSS, P 86
151. *QJMS*, Vol. 68, P 23
152. EC X. KI. 154, P 227
153. Wilks, P 87
154. *Shiv Souvenir*. P 49, *ಪೆಟ್ರೋ*
155. *RMVC*, P 83
156. *State and Govt. in ancient India*. P 219
157. *My Gaz.* B L Rice, PP 588-590
158. R N Saletore, P 45
159. *History of Madura*. P 243
160. H. Fukazawa, P 194
161. Ibid
162. *Shej Sivachatrapati*, P 437
163. G.H.Khare, *QJMS*, Vol. 71, P 14
- Marathi sources for the History of Karnataka
164. G.R.Kuppuswamy, *QJMS*, Vol.74, P8, Irrigational facilities provided by feudatory families in South Karnataka
165. EC X, CB, P 209
166. R.N.Saletore, *JBBRAS*, Vol XV, P 44
167. EC IX, CP, P26
168. EC IX NIG, 9, P 55
169. R.N. Saletore, P 47
170. Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, P 78
171. *Ka St Gaz*, Bangalore Rural Dist., P 78
172. Rajwade. Foreward, *RMVC*, P102
173. A.R.Kulkarni, *Shivkalin Maharashtra*, P16
174. Bendre, P 484
175. SKA, P416
176. Bendre, P 486
177. *Sources* PP 34-35, *RMVC*, P96
178. Rice, *Gaz, Bangalore and Coorg*. P23. *RMVC*. P97

179. *RMVC*, P98, *Shiv Dig.* P 199-204, *Shivprat*, P 121, *Shed Bakhar*, P65-69, *Qalami, Bakhar*, PP 19-20
180. *RMVC*, P98
181. Rajwade, foreward to *RMVC*, P102
182. Bal, Vol.I, Part II, P 168
183. *My Gaz.* Hayavadanrao, Vol.II, P 2428
184. P 41, *Muddachari*, P60

CHAPTER 2

SHIVAJI IN KARNATAKA

CONSOLIDATION OF MARATHA DOMAIN IN KARNATAKA

1640-1680 AD

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2.1 INFLUENCE OF VIJAYNAGARA ON SHIVAJI :

Maharashtra suffered much under the iron heels of Muslim might from the thirteenth century. But the deep rooted spirit of independence refused to die even among small chieftans surrounded by the expanding Bahamani kingdom. The Rajas of *Baglan*, *Jowhar*, *Rairi*, *Khelna* and *Kudal* continued to be independent for a long time. South *Konkan* remained under the direct rule of Vijaynagara ¹. Karnataka on the other hand had the good fortune of continuing under the Hindu rule of Vijaynagara, whose benevolence had spread far and wide. This is evident in the fourteenth century, when a famine called *Durgadevi* ravaged the *Karad* area for thirty years. A Vijaynagara officer by name *Dado Narasimha* was sent by that state to *Karad* with the permission of the *Sultan of Bidar* ². The incumbent, it is reported, helped in bringing into cultivation the deserted land and thus rehabilitating the countryside. The Sultan had sent a *Turk* to assist the *Dado*. He was white and *Dado* was blackish. But both had become so popular by this relief work, that familiar household names were bestowed on them as white *Khoja* and black *Khoja*. The examples are quoted to prove that the administration of Vijaynagara was on such firm beneficial grounds that they stood the test of time. ³.

Long after the battle of *Rakkastangadi*, when its body politic had disintegrated, memories of Vijaynagara lingered in the minds of the populace at large. They still remembered the helping hand of the Vijaynagara empire. The people of Maharashtra sought the empire's help in the critical period when robber bands as also armed forces swooped over the territory of *Sangameshwar*. They sought and obtained competent officers from Vijaynagara who worked from *Kharepatan* and maintained peace. ⁴

A couple of years prior to Shivaji's birth were turbulent period for Shahaji and Jeejabai, his eldest wife. The latter had seen her father *Lakhuji Jadhav*, a

prominent officer in the Nizamshahi, being treacherously killed in the open daylight in the court precincts. (1629 July). Greatly agitated Shahaji had joined Bijapur, only to return to Nizamshahi again. The latter was caught between the Mughal in the North and Bijapur in the South and it was Shahaji who tried to safeguard Nizamshahi from these enemies. Meanwhile his jagir at Pune was burnt by Murar Jagdev a leading Bijapur officer out of jealousy. As a result *Jeejabai* suffered immensely running from pillar to post due to Shahaji's frequent change of services, which depended on how well he clicked with his Sultans & their coteries. In this unstable period Shivaji was born in *Shivneri* in the year 1630 February 19th. In the absence of Shahaji it was *Jeejabai* who brought up Shivaji, instilling in him the glorious, Hindu culture and traditions of the past.

Shahaji's possessions in Maharashtra were under the supervision of *Dadaji Kondadev*, a trusted officer of Shahaji, loyal to Bijapur. *Jeejabai* and young Shivaji were left behind when Shahaji joined Bijapur service in 1636. *Dadaji* also had his share in moulding the personality of Shivaji and training him in the day today administration of his jagir. Both *Jeejabai* and *Dadaji* got Shivaji married to *Saibai* from the *Nimbalkar* family of *Phultan*. At that time Shivaji was busy in the conquest of Karnataka.⁵ At the instance of *Muhammad Adil Shah*, Shahaji invited his family along with the newly weds to Bijapur. After spending some time in the capital, the family came to Bangalore. Shivaji must have been thirteen years of age when he came to Bangalore.⁶ Here he found himself in the Hindu milieu. His receptive mind could gauge the Vijaynagara traditions which was still alive. He had already been saturated in the Indian traditional lore, instilled by his mother. His deep faith in religion, in the Hindu and Muslim preceptors, sence of respect to women, elders, his secret communion with goddess Bhawani were all due to his mother's teachings. His

stay in Bangalore seems to have accentuated these qualities of head and heart. Here, he could breathe freely the "Hindu air".⁷

Though the *Bakhars* like **Sabhasad**, **Chitnis** and **Kalami** opine that *Jeejabai* and Shivaji were left behind in Pune when Shahaji joined Bijapur service in 1636-7 and came to Karnataka. It is **Shivbharat** which tells that Shivaji was in Karnataka from 1636 to 1642. He came along with his father Shahaji and mother *Jeejabai* when the latter took up his service with Bijapur sultan.⁸ **Grant Duff** also affirms this and further states that the marriage of Shivaji with *Saibai Nimbalkar* was performed in Bijapur.⁹ According to **Purandara Daftar** *Jeejabai* and Shivaji descended from *Shivneri* entered into *Khed Shivpuri* and after the rains in 1636 went to Bijapur.¹⁰

Whatever might have been the duration of his stay in Karnataka, it had its impact on him. In Bangalore his inquisitive nature must have tried to probe the origin and exploits of Vijaynagara heroes. The fame of *Ramaraya Kanada* and the battle of *Rakkastangadi* had become household names in Maharashtra. These influences must have prompted him to imbibe the ideal of Hindu *samrajya* on the model of Vijaynagara.

There is every likelihood that Shivaji must have heard about the valour and physical strength of *Kanthirava Narasaraja*, the Mysore ruler, with whom his father fought many a battle on behalf of Bijapur. **Sardesai** puts forth a pertinent point about the existing political discussions, current in those periods in the court of Shahaji.¹¹ Questions like, that Shahaji being a Hindu was shedding blood for the domination of Muslim rule over the Palegars who were the present heirs of the glorious Vijaynagara. Why couldn't he restrict the Bijapur Sultan from destroying the Hindus? Why did he not join the other Hindu rulers to form a confederacy and fight unitedly against Muslims? Shivaji must have

listened to such discussions. By virtue of the proximity to space and time (Srirangapatam is only 80 miles from Bangalore). Shivaji must have heard or come to know about *Kanthirava* defending his kingdom against Muslim invasions. Infact when Shivaji was in Bangalore, Shahaji was busy fighting *Kanthirava* and he must have heard about the stories connected with his life, being cruel to his enemies, good to his subjects.

No wonder, as a child he might have admired *Kanthirava* from a distance. This is mentioned because both *Kanthirava* and Shivaji were heirs to the Vijaynagara traditions. Both had a common enemy in Bijapur. *Kanthirava* fought against Bijapur throughout his reign (1639-59), while Shivaji's fight against Bijapur began in 1646 and thereafter both fought Bijapur at the same time. *Afzalkhan*, the Bijapur Commander was a sworn enemy to both. Both adopted the same method of warfare. *Kanthirava Narasaraj* used *Kaggole Kalaga* and Shivaji *ganimikava*, namely guerilla method of warfare. Both led their armies in person and named their swords after their patron deities. *Kanthirava* named his sword *Vijay Narasimha* and Shivaji as *Bhawani*. Both venerated their family deities, *Kanthirava* was devoted to *Chamundi*, on the *Chamundi* hill in Mysore and Shivaji was devoted to *Bhawani* on *Pratapgad* hill.

Although Shivaji's sojourn in Bangalore was only for two years yet his contact with Bangalore was kept alive by the movements of Shahaji's men from Bangalore to Raigad, as told earlier in chapter 1 on Shahaji. Through this link Shivaji must have learnt more about *Kanthirava*. He must have also been acquainted with the incident in *Afzal's* career in Karnataka, in which he invited the chief of *Sira* for a parley and treacherously killed him. **Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad** mentions about Sambhaji's death at the hands of Afzalkhan. Shivaji thus was fully aware of *Afzal's* cunningness so that later in 1659, he was careful enough to pay him back in the same coin.

The presence of *Kanthirava honnu* (gold currency) introduced by *Kanthirava* was in circulation in Maharashtra. This lends credence to the above hypothesis that Shivaji must have been influenced by his senior contemporary. Thus certain common happening in the lives of both *Kanthirava* and Shivaji, though termed as coincidental might give the researcher scope for further research, based on new findings.¹² However in the absence of strong proof the theory cannot be sustained fully.

Under these influences Shivaji must have set certain ideals before him, which he executed in course of time. He must have got inspiration to fight against the Mughals and Bijapur. His two year stay provided him with opportunities to study the Bijapur relations, Shahaji's royal court, his separate civil and military establishment, his wars with various Karnataka powers, his soft corner for the last ruler of the decadent Vijaynagara empire, all these had their share in moulding him politically. It can be said that in Bangalore his vision broadened, concept of greater Maharashtra must have crystallised. His respect to all religions was genuine, though he fought throughout his life against the Muslims, didnot prejudice him against their religion. This was also in keeping with the Vijaynagara tradition. Revival of Sanskrit and Marathi names instead of Persian led to the compilation of '**Rajya Vyavaharakosa**' of **Ramchandra Pant Amatya**, which he utilised in a large measure. With a sense of history, a romantic attachment to his motherland and mother tongue, it is no wonder Shivaji attempted to continue the legacy of protecting Hinduism or the traditions of religion and culture.

His admiration for Vijaynagara might have been deep and abiding and is clear from his modelling his coinage on Vijaynagara *pagoda* and use of '*Kanthirayi honnu*'.¹³ Shivaji never gave up his contact with Karnataka throughout his career. Initially it was his training ground, at times his favourite

field for plunder especially Northern Karnataka and Canara Coast. Later he had the ambition of expanding his Swarajya over Karnataka through his famous Karnataka expeditions.

Shahaji sent his son back to Pune to look after his possessions in Maharashtra with honours due to an independent ruler. Shivaji was accompanied by *Shamrao Nilakanth* as *Peshwa*, *Majumdar Sunopant Dabir*, *Sabnis*.¹⁴ Shahaji also gave away elephants, horses, foot soldiers, trusted officers, royal insignias, treasures etc.¹⁵ Later trustworthy officers like *Kanhoji Naik Jedhe* and *Dadaji Krishna Lohkare* were asked to serve him in sincerity.

The help rendered by Shahaji to set up an independent kingdom in Maharashtra has already been explained in the first chapter.

2.2 SHIVAJI'S ACTIVITIES IN NORTH KARNATAKA REGION :

The North Karnataka region is the territory between the rivers *Krishna* and *Tungabhadra*. This region forms an independent geographical unit, consisting of districts of *Belgaum*, *Bijapur* and *Dharwad* of present Karnataka. This area has had maximum impact of the Marathas, compared to the rest of Karnataka due to the proximity to their kingdom. This area was part of the Bijapur kingdom. By the treaty of 1635-36, Bijapur had benefited territorially, as its Northern boundaries got extended upto Osmanabad, Sholapur (in the present Maharashtra) and Bidar in Karnataka. In the Konkan it occupied the Kalyan - Bhiwandi region. Shivaji carved out his Swarajya out of this Bijapur state. The long illness of *Muhammad Adilshah*, his subsequent death, leading to court intrigues gave an opportunity to Shivaji to either rob or devastate the Bijapur possessions or make territorial expansion. By 1653, Shivaji's swarajya had taken a definite shape at the cost of Bijapur kingdom. Scholars on Maratha history like **G.H. Khare, J.N. Sarkar, Grant Duff** maintain that Shivaji undertook four Karnataka

expeditions before 1677 on the basis of Marathi and Persian documents. In 1656, Shivaji attempted to invade the Bijapur kingdom, but was defeated at Masur in the neighbourhood of *Bidnur* by the Bijapur army.¹⁶ This was the first defeat suffered by Shivaji on the Karnataka plain held by Bijapur. In the second Karnataka expedition, Shivaji came as far as *Terdal* in Bijapur district, plundered the towns and then returned.¹⁷ These expeditions are not mentioned in the contemporary Kannada sources as it did not affect either *Mysore* or *Keladi*. The other two expeditions mentioned by them are raid on *Bhatkal* in 1665, another an expedition on *Basrur*.

2.2.1 SHIVAJI'S EARLY ACTIVITIES IN NORTH KARNATAKA :

In 1658, Shivaji seems to have raided the North Karnataka region of Bijapur. However there are no details of this campaign, except the two letters of consecutive years. Suggesting his annual expeditions from 1657 to 1659.¹⁸ According to G.H.Khare, Shivaji's second expedition into Karnataka must have been in 1658, when Afzal Khan, the subhedar of Wai was recalled in Karnataka to lead expeditions there to restore peace as per Shahaji's request.¹⁹ Next year *Netaji Palkar*, was made as the 'Sarnobat' (Commander in chief) in 1659-60, there was a surge of activity in the territories belonging to Adilshah. Towns of *Raibag*, *Lakshmeshwar* and *Dharwad* were plundered.²⁰ Shivaji himself marched and laid siege to *Miraj*, another stronghold of Bijapur, but was not successful in this bid as the Bijapur army under *Siddi Jouhar* was fast approaching to intercept him.

2.2.2 SHIVAJI AND BAJI GHORPADE OF MUDHOL :

In 1664 Shivaji seems to have attacked *Mudhol* in the month of November and attacked *Baji Ghorpade* who was a staunch adherent of Adilshah. *Baji Ghorpade* had deadly opposed Shivaji's swarajya and had taken lead part in the arrest and humiliation of Shahaji in Karnataka after the Jingsi expedition in 1648.

Shivaji didnot want *Baji Ghorpade* to join *Ikhlas Khan* the Bijapur general who was asked to dispossess Shivaji's hold over South Konkan. *Baji* had to turn to his possessions and met Shivaji at *Mudhol*. In the sanguinary action *Baji Ghorpade* was killed alongwith his officers. Shivaji then captured and plundered *Mudhol* and secured huge amount of wealth. *Maloji Ghorpade*, son of *Baji* was installed as the chief of *Mudhol*.²¹

First in December 1665, Shivaji looted *Hubli* and its neighbourhood and imprisoned the English Merchants²² Second time in 1673 *Hubli* was sacked by *Prataprao Gujar*. English lost 1894 hons. matathas had to make good their way due to *Muzzaffar Khan's* arrival²³ The English claimed compensation, but Shivaji refused to pay except some petty damage estimated by him about 200 *pagodas*. In 1675, *Sambhaji*, son of Shivaji sacked *Raybag*. The English have noted the Maratha activities in the North Karnataka "By reason of the lamentable devastation which Shivaji hath made in *Raybag*, *Huntene* (*Athani*) *Callaporo* (*Kolhapur*) etc; cloth was not procurable nor European goods sold."²⁴ *Dattaji Triambak* looted *Hubli* in 1677.²⁵

2.2.3 CONSOLIDATION OF NEW POSSESSIONS IN NORTH KARNATAKA :

Shivaji's possessions in North Karnataka (Forts) included parts of *Khanapur*. *Bhimgad* was one of his strongholds. In the South *Sampagaon*, *Parasgad* were under his control. *Vallabhgad* near *Sankesvara*, *Murgod*, *Hubli* were some of his important forts held. He is said to have built *Ramdurg* (*Belgaum District*), *Torgal*, *Nargund* (*Dharwad District*) forts by about 1676 and appointed *Ramchandra Pant* in charge. *Prataprao Gujar* was succeeded by *Hambirrao Mohite* on the 8th of April 1674 as the *Sarnobat*. *Sabhasad* gives a list of Forts acquired by Shivaji in Karnataka. They are *Raidurg*, *Bagalkot* (*Bija District*), *Mangalgad*, *Mirajkot*, *Manoharkot*, *Mrugankkot*, *Manikgad*,

Viratkot, Sujiragad, Shivolgad, Shamalkot, Rawalgad, Talagirikot, Trichanapurkot, Pramodgad, Gokakot (Belgaum District), *Bhawanidurgakot, Trivelikot, Gujaragad, Kamkot, Kanpurkot, Kot Bidnur, Kot Dhamkur.*²⁶

Gajendragad in DWR dist. was supposed to be built by Shivaji. *Seemantgad* in Bellary district was in his possession. The conquest of *Bhujbalgad* (Belgaum dist.) was entrusted to *Desai Rudrappa Nayaka of Murgod* which is evident from Shivaji's letter to the *Nayaka*²⁷ See map No.III and its illustration.

The newly acquired territories in the North Karnataka were consolidated by Shivaji immediately by appointment of officers for various posts. An inscription of his at *Bhadrapur* (Navalgund , DWR dist dated July 31st, 1679 refers to the grant of the office of *Gaudike* (a village aheadman) *Shanubovike* (a village accountant) and *Talarike* (a village watchman) to Lingapayya and Sangappa²⁸ Shivaji is supposed to have made eight divisions called prants in the Northern Karnataka -

1. *Belgaum Patshapur*
2. *Sampagaon*
3. *Gadag*
4. *Lakshmeshwar*
5. *Navalgund*
6. *Koppal*
7. *Betagiri*
8. *Halyal*

These were called *Mahals*. Initially the revenue administration in North Karnataka was largely modelled on the Vijaynagar system. Gradually it came under the Maratha influence when Marathas began to extend their sway in Karnataka. The sale deed, dated 1586 is a clear indication of prevalence of

indegenous system. The names of the village officers are in Kannada, but after a lapse of half of century, Maratha influence could be seen in the Karnataka administration. Alongwith Hindu style of giving date and Kannada names, one comes across Maratha or Persian nomenclatures. For ex. the names of adminisitrative divisions, both local as well as Persian names are used, *Sime* (Kannada) *Pargana* (Persian), *Nadagauda* (Kannada), *Mirasi* (Persian),²⁹

By 1794 the revenue adminstration of Northern Karnataka had striking similarity to that of Maharashtra. Although the script is Kannada 80 % words are in Marathi or Persian.

2.3 SHIVAJI IN KANARA :

2.3.1 CONDITION OF KANARA ON THE EVE OF SHIVAJI'S EXPEDITION INTO KANARA :

The Kanara Coast of modern Karnataka extends from (Majali in the North of) Karwar in the North to (*Someshwar* to the South of) Mangalore in the South. This territory was shared by *Sondha* and *Bidnur* chiefs. *Sadashiv Rajendra* was the ruler of *Sondha*, when Shivaji attacked Kanara. (1674-92) *Bidnur* was ruled by *Bhadrappa Nayaka* (1661-63) and later by *Chennamma* wife of *Somasekhara Nayaka*. The entire Kanara was brought under *Keladi* sway during the reign of *Sivappa Nayaka*, the previous ruler (1645-60). Although both *Sondha* and *Bidnur* were feudatories of Bijapur, they had become practically independent owing to the weak rule at the centre after the death of *Mohammad Adilshah*. The petty chiefs like *Chatu* or *Chautas* of *Mudubidre*, *Ullal*, *Honnakambli*, *Heggades* of *Vitla*, *Ajilas* of *Venuru*, *Yemal*, *Kapu*, *Katpadi*, *Hebri*, Queen of *Karnad*, Chiefs of *Bilgi*, *Sirsi* etc shifted their allegiance to *Bidnur*, sometimes to *Sondha* or *Bijapur*, depending upon power politics. *Shivappa Nayaka* had brought them under his control, some at the cost of *Sondha*. After the death of *Shivappa Nayaka*, the *Sondha* chief sought *Bijapur* help. The *Adilshah* himself had marched on *Bidnur* alongwith *Shahaji* and *Bahlolkhan* and defeated *Bhadrappa Nayaka*, the then reigning king of *Bidnur*. The latter had to restore *Sondha* to its chief and pay a tribute of seven lakh gold hons to *Bijapur*³⁰

The other contestants on the Kanara coastal area were the Europeans, who were trying to become strong. They had built their factories and warehouses which were well fortified, well defended by their armies. They had monopolised the trade in spices and rice. The Portuguese ruled at Goa, the English in *Rajapur* and *Karwar*, the Dutch in the *Malabar* coast were bent upon having complete control over the coast, driving the others out.

2.3.2 REASONS FOR EXPEDITION INTO KANARA :

Shivaji's swarajya was 'desh' based kingdom. (*Desh* is Plateau closest to the *ghats*. not very productive) Their drive to the West was natural, especially to the productive agriculture of the *Konkan*, to make up for the unproductive area of *Desh* and *Ghats*. (The threefold division of Maharashtra *Desh*, *Ghat*, *Konkan*).

Shivaji had realised the importance of long coast line, its fertility and productivity, hence there was need to have control over *Konkan*. By 1657, Shivaji had been successful in possessing North *Konkan*. He appointed *Abaji Sondev* as the first Governor of Kalyan province. The Marathas also gained control over South *Konkan* after seizing *Tale*, *Ghosale*, *Danda Rajapuri* from *Siddis* and *Dabhol* and number of other towns from Bijapur. Thus from *Kolaba* to *Malwan*, the West Coast was already in Shivaji's possession with fortified bases at *Kolaba*, *Suvarndurga*, *Vijaydurg*, *Sindhudurg*. Janjira the strong base of the *Siddis*, till the very end eluded Shivaji.. Immediately to the South, the Portuguese from Goa could check his activities. South of Goa there were two strategic posts - *Ponda* and *Karwar*, which were under Bijapur.

Shivaji, another contestant for the possession of Kanara, felt the need for expanding his territory in the coastal Karnataka. It had important ports like *Mirjan*, *Honnavar Bhatkal*, *Baindur*, *Barakur*, *Coondapur*, *Basrur*, *Mangalore* and *Kumble*. These ^{ports} forts had brisk trade contracts with the West in spices, quality rice and forest products. The coastal kingdoms had fairly well ruled states like *Bidnur* and *Sondha*, though the Portuguese had begun to sneak and create trouble. The import of horses continued in these states begun during the Vijaynagar times, through the *Nayakas of Bhatkal* and the *Moplas of Kerala*. The coastal states could pay for the imports through the exports of Cardemom, Pepper, Sandalwood etc. ³¹ Hence it was natural that Shivaji had an eye on

Kanara and he proved it by attacking and robbing its rich and prosperous busy towns. Apart from economic benefit, he had political motive too. To extend his Swarajya, he had to subjugate the chiefs and *Rajas* who were either *Vassals* of Bijapur or asserted their feudal independence. He had to keep the foreign powers at bay. In the larger interest of his cause, Shivaji didnot want to leave their precarious position to be exploited by either Bijapur, the *Siddis* or European powers. He realised the advantages of sea trade and later established a naval centre and a navy.

2.3.3 SHIVAJI's EARLY ACTIVITIES IN KANARA :

Shivaji's activities in Kanara can be found in 1658, when he robbed and plundered some towns within the Bijapur dominion. The English factors from Rajapur and Karwar repeatedly accuse Bijapur general Rustum - i - Zaman of being in league with Shivaji. ³²

By 1664, Shivaji felt strong enough to attack and sack towns like - Vengurla. He avenged his father's insult by killing *Baji Ghorpade* and burning down Mudhol. He also raided *Dicholi* and the cheftans of *Pedne*, *Dicholi* and *Kudal* ran away and took shelter in Portuguese territory. In the proximity of *Karwar*, the Marathas were active and the English letter of 18th February 1663 refers to the fears of the English to their factory at Karwar. ³³ But Shivaji didnot attack Kanara that year, but it only shows that the English were the first to notice Shivaji's designs on Kanara.

2.3.4 SHIVAJI's RAID ON BHATKAL :

This was the first of Shivaji's attempt on Kanara coast. His timing was appropriate. The *Bidnur* court had plunged into court intrigues. The neighbours were taking advantage of the chaotic situation. The Portuguese had sent ships

to occupy the various ports. Adilshah sent *Bahlolkhan* to occupy *Bidnur*. The *Nayar* chiefs of *Malabar* also tried their hands to seize territories to the South of *Mangalore*.³⁴ Portuguese took *Basrur* and *Mangalore*. This confusing state of affairs provided golden opportunity to Shivaji to send four scout ships to the port of *Bhatkal*.³⁵ Prof. Shejwalkar opines that the objective of Shivaji was to get the first hand knowledge of the geo-politics of Kanara, its various creeks and estuaries, hence he attempted this raid in the Kanara coast line.³⁶

Shivaji fitted four vessels and sent them to *Bhatkal*. He raided Barakur by sea.³⁷ He scourged the town and exacted a contribution from Karwar factors, they paid one hundred twelve pounds.³⁸ After Shivaji's raid, the English factory was closed at Karwar temporarily and was re-established in 1668.³⁹ An English letter says that Shivaji was not successful in this venture as he was intercepted by Bijapur forces under Khawas Khan.⁴⁰

Despite his reverses Shivaji renewed his activities in Kanara as mentioned in a Dutch letter dated 21st January 1665.⁴¹ The factors at *Karwar* decided to build a fort as a refuge incase of Maratha invasion.⁴²

On 8th February 1665, Shivaji with 85 brigades appeared before *Bidnur* and before the government could act, he was able to collect a booty of 80,000 guilders and set sail.⁴³

2.3.5 SHIVAJI'S RAID ON BASRUR - 1665 FEBRUARY :

Shivaji's Army was busy raiding Bijapur towns above the ghats, such as *Khanapur* and Hubli. The chief of *Bidnur Somashekhar* alarmed at the nearness of Shivaji's army solicited protection from Shivaji on payment of yearly tribute. He also permitted a *vakil* from Shivaji to reside at his capital.⁴⁴

Simultaneously Shivaji secretly planned and carried out a raid on the port

of *Basrur*. He despatched a navy of eighty five small frigates, three little ships and some small crafts with 4000 soldiers on 8th February 1665. ⁴⁵

He set sail from the creek of *Maland*, passed along the Goa Coast without being molested by the Portuguese, whose attention was on Bombay at the time. He must have passed through the North Canara coast, leaving *Karwar*, *Honavar* and *Bhatkal* behind and reached *Kundapur* in South Canara district of present Karnataka covering a distance of some 200 miles in four or five days.

Basrur town is situated five miles inland in the Southern branch of the *Kundapur* creek. **Prof. Shejwalkar** has observed that the entry into the town of *Basrur* had been difficult due to the only opening to the sea which was also obstructed by a long bar of sand. Hence Shivaji must have taken local guides to assist him enter the town in the shortest of time and return ⁴⁶ to the sea with all the loot. The *Sabhasad Bakhar* says that the booty was beyond count. The **Dutch** estimate the plunder to be 3,00,000 *guilders*. The loot consisted of not only cash in *bullion*, but of cloth, grains, spices, probably some horses too, brought there for the sale by the Arab ships. The time of his raid might have been in the first week after newmoon, the high tide carrying the ships upto *Basrur* early in the morning. Shivaji must have reached, before day break surprising the residents in their beds. He also selected the day just after *Mahashivratri* day where pilgrims must have gathered around Mahalingeswara shrine. He looted the merchants who had made good money for the day. ⁴⁷

The **English Records** on Shivaji speaks of his stay at *Gokarn* and *Karwar*. At *Gokarn*, he performed the '*Pilgrims rites*' and proceeded to *Ankola* by land. He reached *Karwar* on 22nd February (1665) after the holy festival. At *Karwar* the English took care to remove their goods to the ships. He collected contributions from English merchants. ⁴⁸ but not much.

Sherkhan, the Bijapur Governor also didnot offer much to Shivaji. At *Karwar*, he didnot get a good amount of booty, hence he charged *Sherkhan* with having spoilt his *Holi* festival.⁴⁹ Shivaji had to rush back home as the Mughal general *Mirza Raja Jaising* was in the vicinity of *Poona* to deal with the powerful Maratha.

2.3.6 SHIVAJI's LATER ACTIVITIES IN KANARA :

The next attempt of Shivaji on *Kanara* was in 1673. The English record dated 17th December 1673 speaks of him attacking *Kanara* with 25,000 men. He reached *Kadra* 20 miles North East of *Karwar* with a division of 4000 foot and 2000 horse. Yet he was repulsed from *Kanara* by Bijapur forces.⁵⁰ This letter proves that Shivaji couldnot achieve much, but only could scare the marchants of *Karwar*, whose business deterioted.⁵¹

2.3.7 CONQUEST OF KARWAR :

After his initial preliminaries, Shivaji could succeed in getting his coveted areas in the *Kanara*. Surat factory letter dated 21st & 25th May 1675 write "Shivaji made a thorough conquest of the country here about Ancola, Shiveshwar, Kadra and that Shivaji was the master of *Carwar*"⁵²

Sabhasad also confirms that his conquest extended from Gokarn Mahabaleshwara on the coast to Supe on the upland.⁵³

Even **Dr.Fryer** testified that Shivaji had conquered Karwar, Ankola, Ponda, Kadra in North *Kanara* district on the *Katinadi*, *Siveshwar*, *Halekot* a fort four miles North of *Sadashivgad*, North of *Karwar*.⁵⁴ The Bijapur *Fauzdar* of *Karwar*, *Milan Saheb* was not loyal to the crown and he rebelled. Shivaji promptly took advantage of the situation and occupied *Karwar*. The English sources help in analysing the details of the situation. In Siveshwar, the English

noticed 3000 horse and foot soldiers laying siege to the castle since the past 15 days. Within no time, they noticed one of Shivaji's Generals visiting Karwar and burning it.⁵⁵ The two English factors *Robert Jone* and *Edward Austin* went and met Shivaji after he had taken possession of *Karwar* and Shivaji promised them the same previlages which they were enjoying under the Adilshahi rule.⁵⁶

2.3.8 SHIVAJI AND KELADI QUEEN CHENNAMMA :

Scholars like **Duff, Kincaid** and **Parasnis** refer to *Chennamma*, the then ruler of *Bidnur*, seeking Shivaji's assistance to solve the internal problem. Her most powerful officers, *Kasarkod Timmanna Nayak* and *Sabbannis Krishnappyya* had revolted against her. The Kannada source '**Keladi Nripa vijaya**' on the other hand doesnot refer to her seeking Shivaji's help. Faced by internal and external problems, it is likely that she must have sought his help, when Shivaji was near *Hubli* and then at *Karwar* and *Ankola*.⁵⁷

Shivaji readily agreed to help the *Ranee* on the condition of payment of *chauth* for the purchase of protection. For this purpose *Umaji Pundit* was stationed at *Bidnur*.⁵⁸

2.3.9 SHIVAJI IN SONDHA KINGDOM :

The Maratha army entered the territory of the *Raja of Sondha* and conquered *Supa* and *Uluvi*. The **English Records on Shivaji** say that the Marathas were obstructed by *Khizra Khan Panni's* men, assisted by the *Desai* who killed 300 of Shivaji men⁵⁹

This may be a temporary setback because ultimately the *Sondha Raja* became a tributary of Shivaji and paid tribute. This is proved by another English letter from *Surat*, dated 24th August 1676. Thus by 1675 Shivaji secured control over all Bijapur possessions in *Uttar Kannada* district of present Karnataka.

2.3.10 IMPACT OF THE RAID ON KANARA :

This incident although a major one has not been mentioned by **Keladi Nripa Vijaya** or any other literary sources of the period. That means it might not have affected the political and economic life of *Kanara*. Even after this raid, *Basrur* continued to be one of the trading centres in *Kanara*.⁶⁰

Raid on *Basrur* might not have been to harass the *Bidnur* ruler, nor to trouble the local populace but to warn the foreign powers to keep to themselves. Shivaji's rise to power and his building of Navy was looked upon with anxiety by the European powers. The Portuguese had been instigating several chieftans in the *Konkan* to revolt against Shivaji. The Dutch too were not happy on *Vengurla*. *Basrur* with its rich market was a great attraction for the Dutch and the Portuguese. *Basrur* provided large quantity of rice and pepper to Goa.⁶¹

In order to put the Portuguese down Shivaji must have thought of cutting off the food supply from *Basrur* to Portugal. He did not want to attack Goa directly as it involved a long campaign hence he thought of this means to keep the Portuguese and the other foreign powers in awe of him. The English had been particularly friendly with Bijapur.⁶² Hence he wanted to punish the English too.

2.3.11 SHIVAJI CONSOLIDATED HIS CONQUEST IN KANARA :

Shivaji annexed the newly conquered areas. He re-organised it into fresh administrative division and appointed an efficient officer *Dharmaji Nagnath*. The territory between *Rajapur* to *Malvan* was under the charge of *Raoji Somanath*. These two officers effectively kept a check upon the Portuguese at Goa.

Throughout Shivaji's campaign, *Bahlol Khan*, the Bijapur general, kept neutral, as he was paid handsomely by Shivaji, about 50,000 *pagodas* and was instructed not to obstruct his way.⁶³

2.4 SHIVAJI'S SOUTHWARD DRIVE

2.4.1 The Motive behind Shivaji's Karnataka Expedition :

As a Champion of *Vedic* religion Shivaji revived the ancient custom of coronation and "proclaimed the restoration of full Hindu *Sovereignty*",⁶⁴ which had been long forgotten in Hindu India. He was crowned on 5th of June 1674 at *Raigad*. He had to do this not only for the sake of prestige, but to enthuse people to fight for a kingdom of their own . The Hindu king's duties involved protection of subjects to save cows and brahmins as tokens of religion to standardise the different laws and frame a constitution, written in the mother tongue of the people, to exchange embassies to neighbouring states on an equal footing. Even the language was to be in pure *Marathi*, exchanging local or forgotten terminology of ancient dynasties in place of Persian (*Rajya Vyavaharakosa* of Ramchandra Pant Amatya is an example).

He had the example of the Vijayanagara empire before him. Infact **S.K. Aiyangar** finds a surprising coincidence between the coronation of Shivaji, as an independent Hindu souvereign with the disappearance of Vijaynagara kingdom.⁶⁵ thereby suggesting that he became the spiritual clone of the Vijaynagara founders.⁶⁶ Thus when kingdom of Vijaynagara was about to disappear in the south, another had (Maratha) already made its appearance in the Deccan. We find Shivaji making a move to recover the lost possessions of extinct Vijayanagara kingdom in the South, reviving its former glory in his two dominions of Maharashtra and Karnataka. This assumption is derived from the finding of Shivaji's silver plate grant gifting two villages to the widow and two sons of *Srirangaraya* (*Tirumalarya* and *Kodanda Rama*). There is difference of opinion over *Sriranga's* date of death. Although his inscriptions are found till late in 1686⁶⁷ but the above silver plate, necessarily puts *Sriranga's* death earlier to 1680, because in that year Shivaji died. *Kodandarama* has been

mentioned as ‘ *Rajadhiraja*’ in ‘*Rama Rajamu*’, and his independent venture to recover *Hasasn* in about 1681 also proves that *Srirangaraya* must have died before 1680. **Rama Sharma** contradicts **S.K.Aiyangar** on the number of villages granted. According to him Shivaji made grants of eight small divisions of the country, probably containing 100 villages or so.⁶⁸ Although there is dispute over the number of villages granted by Shivaji, what is important in this matter is the respect shown by Shivaji to the Vijayanagara royalty.

Shivaji’s correspondence with some of the Maratha chiefs clarifies his real intentions. Since the days of the *Bahamani* period itself, there was rift between ‘*afaqis*’ and *Dakhani* foreigners and colonists, settled in the Deccan, including the Habshis or the Abyssinians. Shivaji hated the foreigners in the Bijapur court and the Mughal rulers of the North, who patronised foreigners for important posts.⁶⁹ Shivaji wanted the Deccan to remain in the hands of the *Dakhanis*, whose roots were deeply rooted in the soil. Shivaji’s letter to *Maloji Ghorpade* reveals that he wanted all Marathas, nay, all the *Dakhanis* to come together and fight commonly against the Mughals. His idea of *Maharashtra Dharma* even crosses the barrier of religion, language in achieving his aim of getting off all foreigners from their motherland to make the land safe for the sons of the soil. This shows that Shivaji was not opposed to the muslim religion, as he agreed to support the Qutb Shahis on condition of his protecting the interests of the Hindus. He had no objection for his Ghorpade cousins, if they could join his national work. He did not want the Mughals to interfere in the Deccan. His plan was to share the prize with Qutb Shah.⁷⁰

Another possible reason for Karnataka expedition would be Shivaji’s wish to make provision for his two heirs - Sambhaji his elder & Rajaram his younger. According to **Sabhasad Bakhar** Shivaji told Sambhaji his wish of giving away Maharashtra to Rajaram, while he announced that he would

conquer the Karnataka for Sambhaji. ⁷¹ It appears that Shivaji had not definitely decided in the matter of bequeathing which portion to whom. **Anupurana** written by **Paramananda's** son **Devadatta** (and grandson Govind), during Shivaji's period was out of circulation and came to light only in 1718. The work speaks of giving Maharashtra to Sambhaji and Karnataka to RR - a totally contradictory version from that of *Sabhasad*. ⁷² But this version of *Anupurana* is supported by **Shivaji Mallammaji Samarotsava**. (Probably this might have been his basic idea, but he might have changed due to the pressures from Soyraibai, mother of Rajaram, the main culprit behind the family feud.)because **Shivaji Mallammaji Samarotsava** gives a totally contradictory version. When Shivaji during his Karnataka expedition visited *Hampi*, people thronged to see him and pleaded with him to stay there and rule over them. For which Shivaji is supposed to have promised that he would make Sambhaji king of Maharashtra, and Rajaram of Karnataka. He would settle down in *Hampi* spending his last years in bathing in the river Tungabhadra and worshipping Virupaksha. ⁷³ These two contemporary sources one from Maharashtra and another from Karnataka provide a new addition to reasons for Shivaji's Karnataka expedition. Since Shivaji had two sons, he wanted to give his homeland to the elder keeping with tradition. The younger son, he resolved would reign in the Karnataka possessions conquered by his father Shahaji and himself. He must have taken Shahaji's model of appointment of his sons Sambhaji in the North and *Vyankoji* in the South to manage the administration of Karnataka. Shivaji had this valubale past experience at the back of his mind when he went on his Karnataka expedition. ⁷⁴ 'SMS' is a clear proof of it.

Thus the *Hampi* ruins with their past greatness plus his religious fervour must have worked on his mind to acquiesce to the request of the *Hampi* populace, to spend his life of retirement in Karnataka. But fate decided

otherwise, Shivaji died. before he could make satisfactory arrangements for the future.

Even **Balasaheb Hardas** points out the fact that Shivaji on his way to *Jingi* via *Tirupati*, must have visited Vellor to see the last vestige of Vijayanagara glory ⁷⁵ but 'SMS' clarifies that Shivaji did go to Hampi, the original Hindu centre of Vijayanagara.

Many other writers on Maratha History have attributed the establishment of '*Hindu Samrajya*' as the main motto behind Shivaji's Karnataka expedition. **Wilks** said that "the ultimate secret object" had been to expel all the Musalman powers from the Dekkan. ⁷⁶

Chitnis Bakhar and **Shivdigvijay** claim that to recover the patrimony and to put his brother on the path of virtue. Shivaji took recourse to this expedition. **Narayan Kone** the South Indian annalist in his '**Karnataka Rajakkal Savistar Charitam**' attributes the same idea behind his expedition. ⁷⁷

'Karnataka was not a piece of territory but a heritage'. It was more valuable to Shivaji as the champion of Hindu freedom and civilization. ⁷⁸ As mentioned earlier, Shivaji had an higher motive of uniting all the Marathas, all the *Dakhanis* against their common enemy, Aurangzeb. With their support he could challenge the might of the Mughals as the acknowledged successor of Vijaynagara empire. This motive led him to claim from his brother half of the ancestral property, if not titles of his father at least. ⁷⁹

While **Jadunath Sarkar** strongly asserted that Shivaji's Karnataka expedition was an organised plunder and that the whole Karnataka was peeled to the bones. He further stated that, it was not the land but gold prompted him to go on an expedition and partition of his father's patrimony was only a plea

to give legality to his campaign. Most of the scholars differ from *Sarkar*. The **French** official correspondence speaks of permanent annexation as the motive behind Karnataka expedition, thus contradicting *Sarkar*. Shivaji seems to have assured the *French of Pondicherry* that he intended to hold Karnataka for good.⁸⁰

Inspite of his grand coronation and assumption of lofty titles of full sovereignty "Shivaji's actual dominions even now hardly extended beyond about 200 miles in length and far less in breadth and didnot cover even whole of the Maratha country."⁸¹ Hence as a newly crowned *Chatrapati*, there was need for Maratha expansion in the South. Shivaji was an ambitious person and aimed high. He would be king not only of Maharashtra as well. Thus would the titles sound realistic. The Vijaynagara emperors claimed that their empire extended from ocean to ocean. He would follow suit. He must have realised the stretegic military significance of Karnataka, besides its riches. A foothold in Karnataka would give him a security in Maharashtra where his newly established kingdom existed. After securing the home front in Maharashtra, the eyes of restless king were directed to the South. In the territory of the moribund Vijaynagara empire petty chieftans were rising, fighting and creating a vaccum for a determined strong military thrust. Besides the legacy of Shahaji and the experience of his followers, the civil and military advisors still alive was available. Though *Bijapur* and *Golconda* were on the prowl, their hold over conquests were tenous. In contrast, Shahaji's possessions could boast of settled governance, payable taxes and a bureaucracy manned by his own Maharashtrians, whom the king could trust. Hence Shivaji's southward drive was bound to be successful, as it was inspired by the will and capacity of the newly crowned potentate.

Shivaji's Karnataka expedition became a necessity for consolidating the scattered possessions in the South. The transfer of the capital by *Vyankoji* from

Bangalore to Tanjore, a much safer place had resulted in the loss of territories due to incessant *Mysore* inroads, into the rest of Karnataka. Hence, there was a need to re-establish Maratha hold over these possessions after a lapse of twelve years, of his father's death. The territory held between *Raigad* and *Tanjore* should be continuous territory in Maratha hands. It can be said that Shivaji's work paid off and made Karnataka safe for his successors as a second home to resist the enemies. This has been beautifully brought out by **M.G.Ranade**. "As if he had prescience of coming events, Shivaji by his conquests and alliances formed a new line of defence in Southern India in his *Kaveri* valley to which he could retire in case of necessity." ⁸²

Following this line of reasoning **S.N.Sen** also opined "He (Shivaji) wisely annexed this far off colony as he had probably foreseen that secure place of refuge for his successors. A shrewd and wise statesman like Shivaji couldnot otherwise run the great risks involved in the invasion of the Karnataka, while a strong Mughal army was posted in the Deccan."

According to **Sabhasad Bakhar** "The *Raja* entertained in his heart the desire of conquering the Karnataka from *Tungabhadra* to the *Kaveri*" ⁸³ Relying on French as well as Jesuit letters the annexation theory of Shivaji also seems probable, like all able generals in History, Shivaji exploited the dis-unity in the South to his advantage, Initially Shivaji plundered because of his desperate need for money, since throughout his career he was pitted against the mighty Mughals and the well established *Shahi Sultans*.

The conditions in the South were propitious for his adventure. In Bijapur, on the death of Ali Adil Shah in 1672, *Sikandar Adil Shah* succeeded to the throne. Since he was a minor the leader of the *Deccani* faction *Khawas Khan* became the regent. Intense political rivalry led to the fall of *Khawas Khan* and

rise of *Abdul Karim Bahlol Khan*, the leader of the foreign party in 1675.⁸⁴ He held close links with the Mughal governor Dilerkhan, hence the fear of putting Bijapur in the Mughal arms was imminent. The provincial Governors ceased to recognise the centre. *Nasir Mohammad Khan* of Jinjee, belonging to *Deccani* faction and *Sherkhan Lodi* of *Wali - Gondapuram* quarrelled and the latter took large tract of land from Jinjee. In this confusing situation the Sultan of Golconda decided to take advantage and called *Nasir* to his side and asked him to conquer Bijapur Karnataka for his sake. The prime minister of *Golconda*, *Madanna* too was waiting for such an opportunity for building, "a pan Hindu co-alition in the South".⁸⁵

The rulers of Mysore and Ikkeri were eternal enemies and quarrelled between themselves often. *Ikkeri* was involved at the time with her internal as well as external enemies. We find *Mysore* free to pursue its active expansionist policy on the Northern territory at the cost of Maratha possessions.

The greater part of Bijapur conquest in the Karnataka was formerly directly or indirectly under the rule of Shahaji. After his death his son *Vyankoji* inherited it. Those territories which were not under *Vyankoji* were more or less in a condition of anarchy, ready to fall a prey to any enterprising power. The land had been swept clean by Bijapur, the *Nayakas* as well as by ordinary robbers. The deterioration had been rightly observed by foreign eye witnesses. "This long series of wars has been followed by a general famine which ravages especially in the environs of Madura and Marav. Everywhere only devastation and solitude and death can be seen, a part of the inhabitants have succumbed to starvation, others have left their country".⁸⁶

Vyankoji had established himself on the *Tanjore* throne managing the affairs with the help of Raghunath Narayan Hanmante and Jagannath. Narayan

Hanmante both trusted *Karbharis* of Shahaji. Differences arose between *Raghunath* and *Vyankoji* on matters of administrative policy. The latter did not tolerate the Muslim interference in *Tanjore* court, while the former resented the *Brahmins* in the day to day administration. *Hanmante* left *Tanjore* not without an ulterior motive of doing good to the family of Shahaji whom he had served and also was in close association with. He was well aware of the state of affairs of both *Golconda* and *Bijapur* and with *Vijayanagara* power almost extinct. He rightly visualised the schemes of Maratha expansion in the South with *Golconda* help. *Raghunath Hanmante* with his political prudence, saw the need for consolidation of the territory conquered by Shahaji and *Vyankoji* on behalf of *Bijapur* Sultan in *Karnataka*, with that of *Swarajya* in *Maharashtra* under unitary Maratha hegemony. That a person like *Gagabhat* living in distant *Banaras* should think in the same line explains the general trend of thinking of the Hindus of those days.

Raghunath Hanmante is supposed to have proceeded to *Bijapur* to study the political situation of that state. Thereafter he visited *Madanna Punt* at *Bhagnagar*.⁸⁷ He found out *Madanna's* love for Sanskrit learning, his leaning towards religion and Philosophy, so he decided to divert his talent towards a good cause.⁸⁸ Both had heart to heart discussion on the existing political condition and worked out plans of Hindu regeneration. Then they took the *Qutbshah* into their confidence and persuaded him to work in co-operation for the joint conquest of the South, by *Golconda* and the Marathas. The *Qutbshah* fell in with the proposal.

Thereafter *Raghunath Hanmante* met *Shivaji* and unfolded his master's plan. Along with *Hanumante*, even *Madanna* also shared the responsibility of bringing together the two important personalities of that time - *Shivaji* and *Abul Hasan* of *Golconda*. *Akkanna* and *Madanna* were two pandits of a *Brahman*

family of *Hanumkonda* in the *Warangal* district. they rose to emince under *Mir Jumla*. After his desertion to the Mughal's, *Abdulla*, the then *Sultan of Golconda* found *Madanna*'s services valuable in putting down the rebel and employed him in reforming his administration. *Abdulla* died in 1672, leaving no heir, so *Abul Hasan*, hin son in law came to the throne with *Madanna* and *Akkanna*'s help.⁸⁹ Both served the Sultan with great loyalty and devotion and were responsible in bringing order in the kingdom. *Madanna* was well versed in the langauges and affairs of the South and likewise in *Sanskrit* and Persian. He managed the Qutbshahi state quite ably in the midst of the shifting politics of the day.⁹⁰ There were plausible reasons for this alliance, not without advantages for both the parties. Aurangzeb had been threatening too often on the outskirts of *Golconda* and *Bijapur*. Knowing his intentions fully well the coalition of the three Decann parties was a must. *Bijapur* was out of question, writhing under factional rivalry, plots and conspiracies and the care taker had been too close to the Mughal Governor of Deccan. Only an alliance between *Golconda* and Maratha was possible. While in the South *Golconda* always aspired for the carnatic regions, *Mir Jumla*, on behalf of *Golconda* and *Shahaji* on behlaf of *Bijapur* had fought many a battle to have their hold on these areas. Later when *Mir Jumla* had joined the Mughals the *Golconda* territories were temporarily looked after but *Musekhan*, followed by *Akkanna Punt*, as the governor of Karnataka.⁹¹

Shahaji too died in 1664 and except his possessions rest were in a state of chaos and had to be brought under control. For *Madanna* the best choice for this stupendous work was *Shivaji*, the Champion of the Hindus, with whose help he thought of achieving two ends, the first to put off the Mughals in the North, second to put the South in order and guarantee a more satisfactory conditon of the whole of Karnataka. Thereby *Golconda* would gain substantially,

while Shivaji too would gain in equal measure. Thus in the opinion of **Martin**, the **French Governor of Pondicherry**, the author of Shivaji's Karnataka expedition was *Madanna* who 'to render some service to his religion' invited Shivaji.⁹² He further sums his work, "To put a part of Carnatic under Hindu domination and to make himself a powerful protector of Shivaji by virtue of the facilities that he gave him (Shivaji) to make himself a master of it and perhaps they had still more far reaching designs."⁹³ Even the **Fort St. George** a letter of 19th June 1677 also affirms the hand of *Madanna* in this venture.⁹⁴

Shivaji accepted the advice of *Raghunath Hanmante* and agreed to an offensive and defensive alliance with *Golconda*. He was to receive a subsidy of 3000 hons a day, assisted by an army of 5000 men. In return Shivaji was to give those parts of conquest in Karnataka, which did not belong to his father.⁹⁵ *Madanna* must have understood Shivaji too well and did not expect the new conquests to come to Golconda, but would have had the satisfaction that the major part of South would be under a Hindu ruler.

Andrian Duarte is quite right when he writes "When Shivaji finally set out on his mission, as Golconda accredited agent and with the sinews of war which Golconda had supplied nobody knew better than Madanna that Shivaji would never give Abul Hasan the territories he had promised to give."⁹⁶

Thus, although both *Raghunath Hanmante* and *Madanna Pant* had their share of responsibility in inviting Shivaji to the South, it does not mean that Shivaji himself was not thinking on these lines. Hanmante met Shivaji in about 1676 and must have discussed the pros and cons of Karnataka expedition. But as per **Factory records** of 14th June 1675, Shivaji had contemplated marching next summer against *Carnatic*. Another letter from *Surat* dated 20th December 1675 states the news got from *Annaji Datto*, an important minister from

Shivaji's council about his master's plan on the invasion of *Carnatic*.⁹⁷ Thus the plan of Karnataka expedition must have been discussed earlier, so that one of Shivaji's trusted ministers must have broached the news to the foreign trader.⁹⁸

Jadunath Sarkar confirms this fact "It was the heart's desire of the minister to conquer Bijapur Karnataka nominally for Golconda, but really to place the whole of it under Hindu rule as had been the case before 1648."⁹⁹

Before starting on this adventure Shivaji seems to have secured the blessings of some pious saints, to whom he always approached in his difficulty. He called on *Baba Yakut* at *Kelsi* near Dapoli and *Mauni Bava* of *Patgaun* near *Rangana* (Kolhapur State Jurisdiction) before he left for the hazardous undertaking.¹⁰⁰

Shivaji's main anxiety was for the safety of the Northern frontiers, when he was away on Karnataka expedition. This problem he easily solved by bribing 3 lac hons to Bahadur Khan, the Mughal Governor of Deccan, into inaction, through *Niraji Raoji*, the minister of Shivaji, that he should not molest Maratha territories in his absence.¹⁰¹

By the end of 1676 he made all necessary arrangements and started on his famous expedition. "The plan was set in motion almost with clock work regularity".¹⁰²

2.4.2 SHIVAJI'S KARNATAKA EXPEDITION :

Shivaji left *Raigad* on January 1677 with 14,000 cavalry, marched South to the *Vengurla Ghats* and advanced East to *Hyderabad*.¹⁰³

Shivaji issued strict orders to his soldiers not to rob or molest the

inhabitants for obtaining provisions ¹⁰⁴ Strict discipline was maintained since he was going into an allied kingdom. Unlike his other expeditions, where the expenses of the army were met by loot and robbery at the cost of enemies. ¹⁰⁵ Shivaji was accorded royal reception due to a sovereign, independent ruler. ¹⁰⁶

Shivaji and the Qutbshah made defensive alliance against the Mughals, by which the Shah promised to pay his annual tribute of one lakh of hons regularly & also to keep a Maratha ambassador at his court. ¹⁰⁷ Thus it was Golconda which acknowledged the *Chatrapati's* authority and not vice versa ¹⁰⁸ Accordingly excluding his jagir, the rest of the conquest was to be handed over to the *Shah* and the Golconda forces were only 5000 horse & foot, while Shivaji's forces were more than 20,000 horses & 40,000 foot. Hence the alliance looked merely nominal from the very beginning. Shivaji stayed for one month in Hyderabad.

2.4.2.1 SHIVAJI IN COROMANDAL COAST :

From *Hydrabad* to *Madras* - Shivaji departed from Hyderabad in the month of April and advanced to *Karnool*, a petty state on the *Tungabhadra* under a Maratha Anandrao Deshmukh, who promised a tribute of five lakhs of hons to Shivaji. The *Marathi Bakhar* state that Shivaji visited the holy place of *Nivrutti Sangama* on the confluence of *Bhavanashi* and *Krishna* river. From there he visited the magnificent temple of *Srishaila*. In the temple, at the entrance, there is a sculpture of Shivaji worshipping *Shivalinga*. [V3]. According to **Kalami Bakhar** Shivaji stayed for 9 days at *Srishaila*. ¹⁰⁹ Sabhasad refers to Shivaji's ecstatic mood after witnessing the romantic beauty of the nature which enraptured his soul. He thought of renouncing the role of the king, and of immolating his body. However he was dissuaded from this suicidal course by his ministers. He donated large sums in charity and built a ghat at *Neelaganga*. ¹¹⁰

The recently found SMS also refers to Shivaji's visit to *Srishaila Mallikarjuna*. The king left this serene place on the 1st April and joined his army at *Anantpur*. Pagadi feels that Anantpur is quite far from Srishaila, hence it should be Atmakur near Srishaila.¹¹¹ From there Shivaji is supposed to have marched by way of *Cuddappah* to *Tirupati*, where as per ¹¹²SMS he worshipped *Lord Venkatesh*. Later Shivaji moved to *Kalahasti* and then to *Peddapolam* where he halted for sometime on the 8th of May and sent an advanced detachment of 5000 cavalry through *Conjiveram* to *Jingi*¹¹³

“ With a big army of 20 miles horse & 40 miles foot, the Van being 5 miles horse to fall on Jingi, after crossing Tirupati, Kalahasti and 8 leagues from here, there night expected at Congeevaram about 4 leagues Gentu, which is very small for his horse to march in night time. ¹¹⁴

The English at Madras were scared of Shivaji's approaching army. Shivaji had sent his messenger, *Mahadji Pant* asking for some cordial stones and counter poison from *Peddapolam* just 2 - 5 leagues from *Madras*. The president of *Madras* received Shivaji's embassy on 14th May. Fearing that he might surprise the town, presents were sent promptly to please the Great person. After receiving *Maldiv* coconuts, *beazonal* and *cordial* stones, Shivaji wrote to *Sir. W.M. Langhorne* asking him to send more for a price. ¹¹⁵ The English sent a reply to this letter on 19th May 1677 from **Fort St. George**. The *Madras council* in a letter dated 1st September 1677 advised the Company to fortify due to nearness of Shivaji's army and it also mentioned receiving three messangers of his with letters. ¹¹⁶

The chief of *Chittor*, the rulers of *Bommuraja Palayam* and of *Kalahasti Bangaru*, *Yachama Nayaka*, the *Mansabdar* of the *Badshah* (he belonged to Velugoti family) went in person to Shivaji alongwith other chiefs and

surrendered. Shivaji thus gained allegiance of all including Muslims from *Satgadh, Vellore* etc and arranged for the security of all the country.¹¹⁷

2.4.2.2 SIEGE OF JINGI :

Nasir Muhammad was Governor of *Jingi*. He was the son of *Khan - Khanan*, a prominent *wazir* of Bijapur. *Sherkhan Lodhi* was the *Pathan* governor of Southern part of Karnataka.¹¹⁸ **Martin** states about the agreement between Shivaji and *Nasir* that the latter received a sum in cash & some territories, with an annual rent of 50,000 *ecus* (a silver *ecus* was 60 *Tolas* = 3 to 6 *livres* or French pounds) in peretuity & was prepared to leave the place with his family.¹¹⁹ He was to get the territories belonging to *Golconda*, but since Shivaji didnot give up *Jingi* to *Golconda*, his officers refused to part with the territory, hence *Nasir* lost both ways and died heart broken.

Manucci says that Shivaji took the great fortress by his valour and determination, while **Father Friere** remarks that Shivaji fell like a thunderbolt upon the formidable fort and carried it at the first assault.¹²⁰

According to **Kone**, *Killedar Nazar khan* and *Fauzdar Sidi Ambarkhan* of *Jingi* strengthened themselves and gave battle to the enemy. But the army of the Marathas proved itself to be stronger. The struggle was violent and the *Sennegardh* fort was taken. Both parties suffered considerable losses. then Shivaji took by assault the fortress whose hills and bastions he strengthened.¹²¹

2.4.2.3 SHIVAJI IN TAMILNADU :

Jingi fortress was made impregnable by the *Kovalar* rulers and the *Nayakas* by building four encircling walls. Shivaji preserved the inner fortress which was at the foot of *Rajgiri* hill and had the three, outer walls called "*Adayavalanjan*" (meant encircling) demolished. He is supposed to have raised

walls in the form of a triangle which ran straight between *Chennagadh* and *Krishnagiri* from *Krishnagiri* to *Rajagiri* and from *Rajgiri* to *Chennagadh*. Shivaji reigned "enforcing respect for justice" (Ibid). He handed over the *Jingi* fort to *Rayaji Nalage*, while the areas were given to *Vittal Pildar Atre* to administer.¹²²

2.4.2.3.1 Conquest of Vellore -

From *Jingi* Shivaji marched on *Vellore* and here that Shivaji faced stout resistance for 14 months. *Abdulla khan* gave it up at the end for a stripulated sum.¹²³ As per the treaty with *Golconda*, *Vellore* had to be handed over to *Golconda*. Since there is no evidence to tell that there was any issue over this between *Golconda* and Shivaji, it is evident that Shivaji didnot commit any breach of agreement with *Golconda*. (Ibid) . On 22nd July 1678, *Vellore* was handed over to Shivaji's people.¹²⁴

2.4.2.3.2 The Battle of Tiruwadi in 26th June 1677 -

Sherkhan Lodi, although aware of the secret understanding between Nasir and Shivaji boldly defended the territory from Maratha invasion at *Tiruwadi* near *Cuddalore*. According to **Sabhasad**, he was routed, captured alive and huge booty fell into the hands of victors. The letter from **Fort St. George** gives a clear picture. Sherkhan was pursued till *Bhuvangiri Pattanam* near *Portonovo*. Later, he surrendered the fort, made a treaty with Shivaji and ceded all the territories to the Raja and promised to pay an indemnity of 20,000 pagodas, left his son as hostage till he fulfilled his terms and retired to the woods of *Arelour*. It was only in February 1678 that Khan came with money, got his son's release and joined *Nayakas of Madura*.¹²⁵

The English agents were probably following Shivaji to deliver the presents and other medicines. Their letters mention that he went via *Punamul* to

Bhuvangiri pattan and encamped on the banks of Coleroon river at a town called *Tirumalawada*. The army encamped here due to rains and the agent presented Shivaji with 3 yards of scarlet cloth. The envoy from *Madura* also awaited. Shivaji requesting him to spare his kingdom for which Shivaji asked for 100 lakhs for his expenses. The envoy explained his Master's inability to pay this huge amount due to the fact that part of his masters territory is taken by Mysore and part by *Vyankoji*. hence he should be exempted from paying anything. Only if he could restore the former territory he would give 7 lakhs.¹²⁶

The **Dagh Register** also corroborates the incidents.¹²⁷ *Raghunath Hanmante* was sent to *Madura* as Shivaji's envoy till he got his tribute from the Nayaka of *Madura*. By 17th July *Raghunath Hanmante* returned to *Tirumalvadi* with 1 1/2 lakhs of pagodas from the *Madura Nayaka*.¹²⁸

Shivaji's troops seized Congimere¹²⁹ *Kunimedu*, 13 miles north of *Pondicherry*; about a mile from the sea¹³⁰ and ravaged the territory.

According to **Martin**, at Shivaji's approach the rich people withdrew to the forest. He observes more than 20,000 people spread over in the newly conquered area in search of employment. Shivaji acted as master everywhere and he wrote to the Governor of Madras to bring out of the town all the people withdrawn from the territories of *Sherkhan*. He further writes that no one could pass through the country without a pass from Shivaji's officers. Dutchmen in Palanquins, others on horseback went to pay a visit to Shivaji with presents. *Martin's* men also paid visit to Shivaji with gifts.¹³¹

2.4.2.3.3 Shivaji's charter to the Dutch on the Coromandal Coast -

The chief of the Dutch factory at *Tevenpatam* waited on Shivaji at *Vrudhachalam* in August 1677 with presents of silk stuffs, sandalwood, rose

water, *Maldiv*e Coconuts. Cloves, Spoons & blades.¹³² Even Martin notes that in July 24th 1677 his men met two Dutchmen on their way going in Palanquins with large retinues of country soldiers and men carrying presents going to pay a visit to Shivaji.¹³³

Again in August, the *Dutch* party headed by the chiefs of the factory of *Tevenpatam* exchanged courtesies with Shivaji. But all these embassies resulted only in much 'expenditure, inconvenience and embarrassment', writes Martin.¹³⁴

But an entry in **Batavia Dag Register** for 1677¹³⁵ refers to a letter of the 15th August from *Albert Van Weede* and states that Shivaji was friendly and civil to the company that he has already promised to the Company's delegate at *Tevenapatam* to grant them trading privileges all over the country by means of 'Cows'. (Charter). The first of them is dated 15th July 1677 by which, Shivaji assured the Company that it could carry on trade exactly as they did under the Bijapur kingdom. It can be surmised from this that the encounter between *Martin's* men and the *Dutch embassy* with Shivaji in July / August 1677 took place after this cowl had been granted and that the Dutch mission was sent to thank Shivaji for the cowl, which had been already granted.¹³⁶

The next 'cowl'¹³⁷ was granted to *Jaques Cavlier*, the Dutch governor & director of Coromandal, dated 24th August 1677, but is said to have been received only on 5th March 1678. The delay might have been due to the cupidity of Shivaji's men as suggested by *Martin*.¹³⁸ It is drawn up in the name of Shivaji and it is most comprehensive of all the charters.

Martin mentions that at last the Dutch got permission to establish themselves at *Portonovo* on the same terms as under Sherkhan & that this cost them much, seems to be true from the two chapters, one of them is a "cowl"

¹³⁹ granted by *havildar Nettesi*, second one was by *havildar of Portonovo*, dated 20th March 1678. *Pieter Verwer* the Dutch factor at *Negapatam* sent two merchants to *Portonovo* for negotiations with these officers and as a result they got a *cowl*, sanctioning trade on payment of half toll on goods and the erection of a bank at *Portonovo*.

2.4.2.3.4 SHIVAJI AND VYANKOJI -

From *Tirumalwadi*, Shivaji sent a letter to his brother inviting him for a discussion for an amicable settlement of his claim to their father's inheritance.

According to **Bakhars** Shivaji sent three representatives to his camp to settle the differences. Thereafter *Vyankoji* sent his chief officers to the camp of Shivaji. They were well received and Shivaji brought forth his claim for a share in his father's estate and requested them to persuade his brother to agree to his demand. *Vyankoji* refused to listen to Shivaji's demands on the advice of his Muslim courtiers. His allies left him due to *Raghunath's* diplomacy. The *Nayaks of Madura* was forced to submit to Shivaji. *Vyankoji* left alone ventured to meet his brother with a small retinue. There was great rejoicing when the two brothers met ¹⁴⁰ According to Maratha chronicler, Shivaji asked his brother to hand him over the twelve '*Birudas*' (Badger) the insignias of honour, belonging to Shahaji. ¹⁴¹

His demand was for a share in what belonged to his father's movable property. Although *Vyankoji* agreed, he couldnot come to terms with regard to the territory of *Tanjore* and other territories conquered by Shahaji, which he had inherited since 13 years. Shivaji didnot want the land, but the supreme title to himself. ¹⁴² Bijapur was at its fag end of survival. Shivaji wanted to claim the territory and the title, so that when Bijapur fell he could be a *sovereign* while in the north due to Mughal predominance, he couldnot achieve this. Hence he

tried to convince *Vyankoji* and make him agree to his suggestion that he might be recognised as Shahaji's successor to the title, but *Vyankoji* didnot agree. Shivaji had offered to give him an alternative territory in the north equavalent to his by preference,¹⁴³ but *Vyankoji* was adamant. According to Jesuit letters he stayed for 20 days with Shivaji.¹⁴⁴

Although Shivaji claimed a share in the patrimony from his brother *Vyankoji*, this was not the cause for his invasion. Shivaji had been watching the weakening of the Maratha hold in Mysore region after *Vyankoji* had left *Bangalore* and shifted his capital to *Tanjore* in 1675. As a result,the *Mysore* ruler *Chikkadevaraya's* northward expansion became easy. Shivaji didnot wish to relinquish his father's *jagirs* to fall into the hands of Mysore ruler. The death of Shahaji in 1664 and the departure of *Vyankoji* from *Bangalore* to *Tanjore* synchronised with the loss of Maratha possessions in *Mysore*. *Kolar* declared its independence in 1670 and *Doddabaliapur* in 1677.¹⁴⁵ In order to maintain a link with Maratha possessions in Karnataka, Shivaji had to put up a claim to paternal estates. His intention being to create a compact territory in Carnatic as well as Karnataka, linked to his kingdom in Maharashtra. Afraid that if he stayed longer, Shivaji would make him agree to his demands,Vyonkoji escaped one night from the camp in his catamaran.¹⁴⁶ Though indignant, Shivaji is supposed to have restrained himself. Again,he tried moderating his demand. *Vyankoji* agreed only to give one half of Shahaji's movables. Though upset over the whole affair Shivaji didnot make war on his brother. Instead he marched on *Vellore*.

While **Andre Freire's** letter of 1678 says that *Vyankoji* was treacherously seized and imprisoned to make him give up his ill gotten treasures but in reality *Vyankoji* escaped.¹⁴⁷

According to **Martin**, on hearing about his brother's escape, Shivaji is said to have arrested *Vyankoji's* men who were in his camp, among them was Jagannath Pandit, General of *Vyankoji*, *Kakaji Pant* and *Majumdar Kanher Pant*. They were dismissed with presents and sent back to their master.¹⁴⁸

Nellore Ramana, a Brahmin agent of the English who was sent to Shivaji with presents wrote about the interview between Shivaji & *Vyankoji*. It corroborates the account of the Bakhars. The letter is dated 27th July 1677.

Shivaji determined to occupy his fathers territories north of the Kaveri river, marched to *Walgodapuram*, then to *Tundumgurty*. His troops took possession of *Vyankoji's* territory. Shivaji visited the pilgrim centre of *Vriddhachalam*, where he performed the worship of 'Lord Shiva'.¹⁴⁹ He remained here uptill 2nd August, since the Dutch embassy came with presents to Shivaji. His army captured Yelavansor, belonging to *Vyankoji* on 2nd August. Upto 24th August Shivaji's army had captured all the open country under *Vyankoji* upto the bank of the Coleroon.

Since *Vyankoji* declined to cede to shivaji even a small part of the territory, *Chatrapati* thought it improper to invade Tanjore and oust him from his newly conquered kingdom. But he captured other areas which he had inherited from his father, Shahaji.

2.4.2.3.5 Shivaji Visits Madras -

Shivaji came to the city of *Madras* on 22nd September 1677. He wrote a letter to *Longhorne*, the Government of Madras requesting the English to supply ten or fifteen engineers to help in building forts and castles in the captured areas in South India. The English at Madras politely refused.¹⁵⁰ When Shivaji visited the city of *Mudras* on 3rd October 1677 there was a Maratha

camp in 'Maratha Tow' (*Muthialpet*) and he stayed in the oldest temple of *Chennaikali* or *Chennaiammam* (*Bhavanimutt*) which is still in existence at no. 67, *Thambu Chetty* street, *G.T. Madras* 1. This famous temple renowned for its divine powers was being managed entirely by *Tamil Visvakarmas* for the last 400 years. After Shivaji's visit it gained greater importance and significance.¹⁵¹

2.4.2.3.6 Vyankoji Vs Santoji -

Vyankoji watched with alarm loss of his territories one by one in Karnataka. He could not get help from *Madura*, *Tanjore* and not even from *Bijapur*. Once Shivaji was away in Northern Karnataka, he attacked the forces, which Shivaji had left behind under *Santoji*.

A fierce battle was fought on 6th November 1677 near *Ambori* (*Ahiri*) in Karnataka. Three thousand horses and elephants of *Vyankoji* were captured & he escaped to *Tiruwadi*. He ceded *Kolar* and made peace after a payment of 6 lakh rupees.¹⁵² Shivaji was in *Torgul* when he received the news of his brothers defeat.

The long standing dispute between Shivaji & *Vyankoji* was cleverly settled by *Deepabai*, wife of *Vyankoji*. Shivaji appreciated this effort of his sister in law and rewarded her. His letter to *Raghunath Hanmante* certifies this. In gratification Shivaji handed over the districts of *Bangalore*, *Hoskote* and *Shiralkote* (*Sira*) yielding a revenue of 2 lack hons, as present to *Deepabai*. **Sardesai** opines that by giving these territories to *Deepabai*, from the *Tanjore* court. Muslim control was reduced.¹⁵³ Shivaji retained parts of *Bangalore* and *Kolar* district, which was called as *Ballalapura* district in those days, with *Doddaballapura* as the headquarter and it continued under the Marathas till the days of *Sambhaji*.

2.4.2.4 Shivaji's encounter with Mysore ruler -

A B`bay letter of 28th August 1677 mention the places conquered by Shivaji by this time ¹⁵⁴ and it included plundering of *Srirangapatnam*, the capital of *Mysore* ruler. **Jedhe Sakavali** mentions his activities in Mysore region. It states that Shivaji laid siege to *Kolar* in *Sravana* 1599 (July - August 1677). ¹⁵⁵

Shivaji does not appear to have had much difficulty in taking possession of his brother's territory in Mysore region. Shivaji was helped by local chiefs who were against the Mysore ruler. *Chikkadevaraya*, such as *Dhulikote*, *Malali*, *Sedamangalam*, *Anantgiri Ariyaluru*, *Toreyuru* and *Dharampuri*. ¹⁵⁶ The Kannada source **Chikkadevaraja Binnapam** also confirms this fact and states

‘such of the rulers as had submitted to Chickadevaraya by fear, had come to a meeting immediately’

Patching up of their differences visited Shivaji and disclosed to him all the secrecy of the kingdom, who profiting by these advanced at their head against *Chikkadevaraya*. ¹⁵⁷ The work further states that “the rulers of *Agra*, *Delhi* and *Bhagnagar* considered Shivaji as *Maya*, *Sambhara* or the son of *Ravana*, addressed him as ‘*Jiya*, *Jiya*’ (Hail lord) and placed tribute before him. Shivaji swollen with pride as a result came to attack Mysore ———” ¹⁵⁸ Both the Kannada literary sources the **A.V.Charite**, **Chikkadevaraj Bin** speak of the Mysore ruler having defeated Shivaji in cavalry fight. ¹⁵⁹ and breaking the pride of Shivaji and taking up the title ‘*Apratimavira*’. The inscription at *Srirangapatam* also affirms the fact. The engagement was mainly a cavalry one and that the Mysore cavalry routed the Marathas capturing the two leaders and putting them to death with insult to their corpses. If true it is a fact of considerable interest. Because it is the only serious defeat in a pitched battle

that Shivaji suffered in the course of his Southern campaign. When the Kannada sources claim victory to Mysore ruler, the Maratha sources do not dwell much upon what exactly happened in Mysore. They make a passing reference to his conquest of *Kolar - Balapur*, which had become independent during the interval of Shahaji's death and *Vyankoji's* shifting of the capital from *Bangalore to Tanjore*.

From these contradictory remarks, it can be concluded that Shivaji's forces might have entered Mysore but were forced to withdraw, probably near the borders of Mysore and Madura. Since Shivaji had no time to involve himself in Karnataka region after conquering *Vyankoji's* jagirs, he must have hurried back, after robbing the 'riches of Srirangapatam'. Madras records of Oct 1677 confirm the fact that Karnataka was looted to the bones.¹⁶⁰

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If *Chikkadevaraya* had defeated Shivaji, he could have immediately captured Bangalore and surrounding territories, which were in the possession of Shivaji in that year.¹⁶¹ Anyway, Shivaji fulfilled his wish of re-establishing Maratha authority over the possessions of his father in Mysore which is evident from his grant of a village named *Ramasamudra* in that region.¹⁶² In the history of the Marathas, this event may not be one of very great importance, but in the history of Mysore it is a point of considerable significance, since this victory was achieved over the forces of great Shivaji who had levied tributes from *Delhi and Golconda*. **Sabhasad** states that *Rango Narayan* was appointed the *Sarsubedar* of the territory, while the viceroyalty was vested in *Raghunath Hanmante*. *Manaji More* was posted with his troops in the *Kolar* region.¹⁶³

2.4.2.5 Shivaji in Hampi

Shivaji's visit to *Hampi* has been mentioned by the recently found SMS. **Sabhasad** writes of Shivaji going to Koppal.¹⁶⁴ From Madras it appears that

Shivaji before going to Koppal must have visited Hampi, the seat of Vijaynagara grandeur and glory. His visit to Hampi has been already dealt with in the chapter on "Motive behind Shivaji's Karnataka Expedition". The people of *Hampi* welcomed him and requested him to be their ruler and establish Hindu kingdom. It states that Shivaji agreed readily and offered to settle in *Hampi*, after making Sambhaji the ruler of Maharashtra and Rajaram his younger son at Karnataka. He also looked forward to spending his last days, bathing in the holy waters of *Tungabhadra* living peacefully.¹⁶⁵ It is not clear how long he stayed here. From *Hampi* he must have marched to *Koppal*.

2.4.2.6 Shivaji in Koppal

The fort of *Koppal* was under the command of two Afghan captains in Bijapur service. *Hussain khan Miana* and *Abdul Rahim khan*. **Sabhasad** calls this 'gate of the south' was of strategic importance for Shivaji's hold on Karnataka. *Hambirrao Mohite* and *Dhanaji Jadhav* were sent to put down the *Miana* brothers. A severe fight ensued and *Abdul Rahim khan* was killed and his brother *Husain Khan* was captured. *Koppal* fell into the Maratha hands.¹⁶⁶

Shivaji had sent an advance party in August to the western part of Bijapur kingdom. They tried to win over the Hindu chieftane. They also mobilised a force and captured some territories in *Bankapur*. *Kanchangauda IV* the chief of *Lakshmeshwar* was a man of divided loyalties and he assisted *Ganesh Pandit* who was sent by Bijapur Sultan to put down Shivaji's men.¹⁶⁷ ***The English records on Shivaji***¹⁶⁸ mention that Shivaji's forces robbed *Gadag* and *Lakshmeshwar*. **Chitnis Bakhar** confirms the fact and adds that *Khangauda III* fled when Shivaji robbed *Lakshmeshwar*.¹⁶⁹ In the middle of January, Shivaji is supposed to have seized *Bankapur*.¹⁷⁰ Next Shivaji came to *Yadwad* 6 miles from *Dharwad* and encamped here. It was here that the battle between him and *Dasain* of *Belavadi* took place. An inscription of Shivaji, the only one of his

in Karnataka, found at *Bhadrapura* (Navalgund Tq, DWK district dated 1678) speaks of Shivaji's Government appointing a village headman (Gaudike, Patil) and the village accountant (Shanubhog, Kulkarni) and village watchman (Talarike). This record demonstrates the fact that Shivaji has taken proper care for the upkeep of his newly conquered territory in Karnataka. These Kannada possessions remained under him till his death.¹⁷¹

2.4.2.7 Shivaji's Encounter with Belavadi Mallamma.

The battle between Shivaji and *Belavadi Mallamma* was first brought to the notice of historians, by the **English factory records**.¹⁷² The local traditions and the '**Turukair Panchamara Itihasuvu**' or the history of the *Turukari Panchamas*, written by Shri Siddhanti Sivabasava Shastri head of the Mutt to which *Mallamma* belonged confirms the same incident.¹⁷³ The recently published work in Marathi "**Shivaji Mallammaji Samarotsav**" deals mainly with the conflict between Shivaji and *Mallamma* and the reconciliation thereafter. A sculpture in *Yadwad* (6 miles from Dharwad) is a pictorial representation of this reconciliation. The **Shivaji Mallammaji Samaratosava** at times exaggerates *Mallammaji's* part yet gives details about the incident and brings out the best, both in *Mallammaji* and Shivaji's character.

Mallamma was the daughter of the Prince of Swadi (or Sondha) in the present North Kanara district of Karnataka. She married *Isha Prabhu* the chief of *Belavadi* in Belgaum district. *Mallamma* took keen interest in the administration of *Belavadi*. Both had heard about the fame and might of Shivaji and when they learnt that the latter had encamped in their kingdom at *Yadwad*, six miles from *Dharwad*, decided to honour him.¹⁷⁴ *Isha Prabhu* was also anxious to show his small kingdom's proficiency in the art of warfare, especially the contingent of women soldiers under his *Queen Mallamma*¹⁷⁵ but fate willed otherwise. The preparations to honour Shivaji turned into a fatal

battle. The main cause for the conflict was the harassment of the *Belavadi* farmers by Shivaji's men who carried away the former's livestock to their camp. The local tradition and *Turukari Panchamara Itihasuvu* also give the same reasons for the conflict. While the Marathi version is quite opposite to this, which states that the *Belavadi Desai* carried off the *Rajas* bullocks, hence the Marathas laid siege to *Belavadi*, captured and punished the *Desain*.¹⁷⁶

According to 'SMS' the *ryots* approached the *Desai* and complained about the Maratha harassment. The *Desai* sent his commander (Dalvoy) Siddangaud Patil to bring back the cows from the Marathas. The *Chatrapati*'s men insulted him and as per the source, even *Chatrapati* himself did not entertain him. Disappointed the *Dalvoy* returned to *Belavadi*.¹⁷⁷ Learning about this insult to his commander the *Desai* decided to teach the Marathas a lesson. Preparations for war started. Cannon's were fixed on all the four corners of the city. *Mallamma* offered to lead her force of two thousand women soldiers, accompanied by three thousand female body guards. The rest of the army was stationed at strategic places.¹⁷⁸ On 1600 Saka (1678) Pausya, Purnima day *Mallamma* went forth to attack the Marathas and slaughtered the enemy. This source says that within an hour two hundred men were wounded and ten to twelve men were dead. At this the Maratha commander agreed to surrender the livestock. Every village in *Belavadi* kingdom celebrated the victory.¹⁷⁹ According to **Sabhasad Bakhar** the name of the *Desaini* is *Savitribai* who resisted the Marathas. "Balwada (*Belavadi*) had a fort. It was held by a woman *Desain*. She removed some oxen belonging to the baggage of the Maratha army. On hearing of this the king (Shivaji) laid siege to *Balwada* (*Belavadi*). The fort was captured. The *Desain* too was taken prisoner, she was punished."¹⁸⁰

Shivaji when he heard the news was exasperated and ordered his cavalry to attack *Belavadi* till it surrendered. He also ordered his men not to mortally

hurt the members of the *Desai* family. The Maratha commander gathered his army and laid siege to *Belavadi*. The battle raged for fifteen days. The Marathas had access to the provisions outside, while the *Desai* was confined in the fort, and his provisions were exhausted. Pressed by these problems the *Desai* sent for the help of *Sondha Sadashivnayaka* and the chief priest of the *Hulimutt*.¹⁸¹ Unfortunately the succour didnot reach in time. Meanwhile the *Desai* came out of the Fort and started attacking the Marathas. In the battle that ensued *Ishprabhu* was mortally wounded, but the brave *Mallamma* continued the war, with her force. She pushed back the enemy. *Mallamma* wanted to pursue them but was restrained by her *Sardars*, who told her of *Ishprabhus* condition. *Mallamma* stopped the war and went to see her husband. *Ishprabhu* who had held his breath till he heard about the victory, breathed his last after taking a promise from his wife that she would take revenge. It appears from the above description that Shivaji had no knowledge of the raid on cattle by his men. He might not have been informed of the visit of the *Belavadi Dalvoy* to meet him. This negligene on the part of some of the Maratha soldiers must have turned into a fatal fight. *Mallamma* must have defeated Shivaji's force sans the high command in the first round.

The source further states that one *Shantayya* of *Belavadi* disguised himself as an ascetic met Shivaji in his tent, knowing well the deep veneration Shivaji reposed in the goddess *Bhawani*, asked him to visit the temple situated at Lokur near *Yadwad* and seek her blessings for his victory. Shivaji is supposed to have sent his army under Dhanaji to attack *Belavadi*, while he went to ^{see} see blessings of the goddess early next morning.¹⁸²

Thereafter *Mallamma* knowing from *Shantayya*, the whereabouts of Shivaji attacked him near the temple with her amazonian force, vowing vengeance. Shivaji was accompanied by eight of his associates. It is said in the work that

Mallamma looked like '*Jagdamba*' (Goddess) to him and he began to pray. When he learnt that she was the *Desain of Belavadi*, he asked her to pardon him for the death of her husband, which was not deliberate, but an accident in the fight.¹⁸³ The scene was tragic, the king trying to express regret and console the widow and the queen weeping for losing her husband. The misunderstandings were removed. Reconciliation was brought about and the conflict was put to an end. Shivaji raised the seige and honoured Mallamma treating her like his mother. Shivaji's treatment towards women is a well know fact. *Kafikhan*, a Mughal partisan has paid very high compliments to Shivaji by saying that he always treated women captured by his soldiers with consideration and great respect. Her valour and courage must have impressed him and if he saw in her the goddess incarnate there is nothing unusual in it.

Local tradition adds that in the battle field when *Mallamma* was wounded Shivaji arranged for her medical treatment. This kind gesture on the part of Shivaji might have touched her emotions when he could very well have done the opposite.¹⁸⁴ Thus reconciliation was brought about between the two and this has been beautifully depicted for all time in the memorial at *Yadwad*. What was to the *Belavadians* a great event to be commemorated in stone was to the Marathas a passing event in their return march from Southern victories. No serious mention is made in contemporary *Maratha Bakhars*. But it definitely made a deep impression on English Merchants of *Rajapur* "He (Shivaji) is at present besieging a fort whereby relation of their own people come from him, he was suffered more disgrace than ever, he did from all power of the Mughal or the Deccan (Bijapuri's) and who have conquered so many kingdoms is not able to reduce this woman Desai."¹⁸⁵

The text of **91 Qalami Bakhar** speaks of the amorous nature of one *Sakhuji Gaikwad*, who coveted the *Desain*. On hearing of this Shivaji punished

him severely by putting out his eyes. Another text of **91 Qalami Bakhar** was translated into Persian in the late 18th Century under the name of **Tarikhe Shivaji**. It was translated in English by Jadunath Sarkar.¹⁸⁶ It speaks of her valour and courage at the same time tells of her being vanquished by the Marathas and greatly dishonoured by Sakhuji Gaikwad. Both *Sabhasad* and *Chitnis Bakhar* does not mention this incident. According to **Pagadi, Sakhuji Gaikwad**, the brother in law of Shivaji was blinded but for some other reason - treason, who based this assumption from Martin's memories.¹⁸⁷ At the same time one has to be indebted to the historic sense of Tarabai in getting the work 'SMS' written by *Shesho Shrinivasa* during her life time. The source also speaks of another work written by Anant Sabhasad in Marathi, an important source material on the life of Shivaji.¹⁸⁸

2.4.2.8 Shivaji meets Veerashaivaa Jaangama

The fact that Shivaji had spent sometime in and around the present *Belgaum* district is evident from another source a treatise on *Muruga Shanthavira Deshikendra* by name "**Muruga Taravali**". It was written by his disciple, *Muriga Gurusidda Sivayogi*. This work illustrates that the life of his master who became a "*Jangama*" (a Veerashaiva ascetic) and wandered from one place to another , till he settled in *Chitradurga*. In one of his wanderings he encountered Shivaji's soldiers. The Jangama was returning from *Bhaganagar* (Hyderabad) to "*Suligavi*". "*Suligavi*" is identified as *Suligav* of Chikkodi taluka of Belgaum district¹⁸⁹

The Jangama must have been on his way from *Suligav* to *Gadag* via *Yadwad*, where some of the Maratha soldiers must have tried to molest and loot the devotees. At this *Muriga Shantavira* is supposed to have called Shivaji, gave him a lotus (Kamal) and blessed him and brought about peace.¹⁹⁰

According to Chidananda Murthy this incident might have happened in 1688 when Shivaji had camped at Yadawad for sometime.-Shivaji's men had troubled Belavadi farmers and carried away their livestock,same way they must have troubled the devotees of Shantavira who were on their way to Gadag Via Yadwad.¹⁹¹ This incident like the earlier one might have happened without Shivaji being aware of his men's mischief.

Thus *Muriga Taravali* provides another evidence for Shivaji's Karnataka expedition.This incident also brings to the fore Shivaji's regard for saintly people to whose beckoning he readily came and sought blessings.

2.4.2.9 Return to Raigad

According to Shivaji Mallammaji Samarotsav, Mallamma arranged to escort Shivaji upto Torgal. Here he stayed for one or two days, then via Panhala reached Raigad. ¹⁹² Jedhe Sakavali gives the date of Shivaji reaching his capital by May 1678.¹⁹³

The English Letters speak of his coming to Panhala by April 1678 ¹⁹⁴ Shivaji met the english on his way from Panhala to Raigad on the 10th May and promised to meet them again after a fortnight at Panhala. ¹⁹⁵ He was away from his capital more than a year.

Consolidation of Maratha domain in Karnataka (Shivaji and Karnataka)

2.5 Analysis of political events between the year 1640 to 1680.

Karnataka with its rich history and culture had its share in influencing Shivaji in his formative years and later on as well. Karnataka has been a training ground for him. The Vijayanagara inspiration watered the roots of Maratha freedom. The literary renaissance of Marathi literature from *Jnandev* to *Tukaram*, with translation from Sanskrit had filled the minds of literate classes with ideas of contentment as in Kannada literature of *Kanakadasa* and *Purandardasa*. What now remained after the systematic pillage of Vijaynagara by the *Shahi* kings and later by the robbers is sufficient evidence of Hindu glory ; If a Hindu kingdom was created it would shine similarly. But the word *Swarajya* used by Shivaji connotes a definite democratic substitute for the five *Shahi* kingdoms spreading from Maharashtra to Andhra Pradesh. It was to be a peoples kingdom united by one language, one religion (in the main) and one king. Shivaji would carve out his nascent kingdom, first from the dwindling Adilshahi territories. The mass Maratha movement claimed Shivaji for her own. The poets, playwrights, the Haridasas, singing and dancing, gloryfying god and religion united the people at large. A Hindu state like Vijaynagara or Shivaji's *Swarajya* would eschew religious preference for Hindus, as Hinduism has never been a misionary religion. Though the Adil Shahi and Qutb Shahi kings by and large were generally tolerant, now and then some of them would brazenly be anti Hindu and none could lift a finger of protest. The condition in the North had worsened since the rise of Aurangzeb, who swore by *Quran* and hated even fellow Muslim, the *Shias*. The Hindu caste system had kept the Muslims separate, with the Muslim pride of conquerors helping to confirm the separation.

Shivaji took the cue from Vijaynagara in forming the Hindu state of Maharashtra the meaning of the word being the 'great kingdom'. This was born of the sufferings of the great people confronted with the problems of survival threatened with cultural and political extinction. It was the genious of this people to muster the disparate castes into one unit of fighting force, only paralleled later by the Sikhs of Ranjeet Singh. In this, Marathas and *Sikhs* have deferred from the Vijaynagara kingdom. The major difference was the Maratha were warrior class while the Vijaynagara army was made up of *Palegars* and Nayaks. Thus the Marathas fought till the very end without taking flight. The Maratha guerillas who conducted the wars against the imperial forces of Aurangzeb, led by hefty Muslims and warlike Rajputs is an epic in the History of India.

Initially Shivaji plundered the rich cities like *Surat* or conquered some territories from Bijapur kingdom to set up his nascent kingdom hence he was considered a rebel by the Bijapur government. It tried various tactics to bring into line. Muhammad Adil Shah had kept his own people around Shivaji. *More of Javali* was one such Jagirdar. He had full support of the Sultan. But when Shivaji overpowered *Chandraraao More*, Bijapur had to send an army under *Afzalkhan*, who was determined to finish the rebel. But here too the tables were turned and *Afzalkhan* had to meet with an ignominious death at the hands of Shivaji. Throughout his reign Adil Shah tried desperately to bring Shivaji under his control. Even punishing his trusted general *Shahaji* for his sons behaviour, but to no avail. For ten years the sultan was an invalid from 1646 to 1656. The administration of the state passed into the hands of *Badi Sahebin*. As mentioned earlier Shivaji made the most of this opportunity and was able to build up his independent kingdom in the teeth of opposition.

It was during Adil Shahi period that the political situation changed in favour

of the rising Shivaji. The fear of Mughal attack on the Deccan Muslim Powers prompted the astute Shahaji to bring together politically Ali Adil Shah and Shivaji. In the peace treaty of 1662 Shivaji was automatically recognised as a ruler of an independent kingdom and no more a rebel. By this treaty Bijapur agreed to surrender the territories beyond the upghats from *Pune* to *Miraj* and the *Konkan* areas to the West, from *Kalyan* to the borders of Portuguese Goa to *Shirval*. But this was a temporary phase and remained effective till the demise of Shahaji. However we can detect Shahaji's paternal interest in the rise of his son as well as the safety of his master, the Bijapur sultan.

During the regime of *Sikandar Shah* the timely help rendered by Shivaji saved the Adilshah from complete extinction. Thereby Shivaji became the saviour of the Shahi Sultanate. When Shivaji returned from the clutches of the emperor Aurangzeb, Maratha *Swarajya* was in perilous condition. The territory had been overrun by the *Rajput* soldiery and himself under pretence of truce was a prisoner of sorts in Delhi.

On the advice of an enlightened priest *Gaga Bhat* Shivaji crowned himself king of Maharashtra. He would by this act enter the prestigious order of *Kshatriyas* like the *Rajput* of the North from whom he claimed royal descent. Shivaji by declaring himself *Chatrapati* raised his prestige among his people and Hindus at large. He could associate on equal footing with kings and petty rulers could feel proud to yield allegiance. After consecration Shivaji setup on a career of conquest in the South. The motive behind the Karnataka expedition has already been dealt with in detail in the Second chapter. Authors like **S.K. Aiyangar** and **C.K. Srinivasan** and **Sardesai** have mooted the idea that the establishment of *Hindu Samrajya* was the motive behind Karnataka expedition. However Historians like **Setu Madhavrao Pagadi** strongly feel that although Shivaji was a devout Hindu his activities with Hindu and Muslim rulers have

been determined by political consideration and not religious. They also state that there is no evidence to suggest that Shivaji intended to bring the Hindu states together under his banner. His main intention was to be independent of Bijapur, he would struggle all by himself till he achieved the goal. The petty states of the South had not developed political consciousness to the point of combining against Bijapur. **Prof. Pagadi** did not believe in the theory of **S.K. Aiyangar** that the Southern states looked upon Shivaji as a successor to the Vijayanagara empire. These very states were responsible for bringing misery to the last Vijayanagara emperor. Hence there was no question of considering Shivaji as their leader. Shivaji had no dream of bringing about a grand Hindu alliance against Bijapur or the Mughals. He looked at them as feudatories of bigger powers, he sieged them for money or expansion.

Shivaji's letter to Aurangzeb condemning imposition of *Jeziya* and pilgrim tax on Hindus clearly shows that he, as a leader of the Hindus had stood up to protest against his anti Hindu steps. The letter is a clear indication of his concern for the Hindus on whom the tax is levied, though the territory was not in his domain but in the emperors. Thus it is clear that he took up the cause of the Hindus in the whole of India, his cause was the cause of Hindu civilisation and not merely the freedom of Maharashtra. The **English Factors of Rajapur** have addressed Shivaji in their letter of 13th February 1660 as, "To Sevagy, General of the Hendoos forces". The same ideology made him conquer South India under one Hindu force as against the Mughals of the North. In this cause he took the help of a Muslim kingdom, i.e. Golconda. He helped the survival of the Bijapur against the Mughal attacks. He considered both Golconda and Bijapur as native states of the Deccan which were tolerant, though Muslim. But Aurangzeb was a fanatic and ruthless to the Hindus. From Shivaji's letter it is evident that he honoured *Akbar* for his principle of

universal tolerance. In fact Shivaji though a devout Hindu who fought against Muslim rulers tooth and nail gave full protection to the Muslims under his regime, allowed them to practice their religion, employed them in the army and navy. distributed ^{arms} arts to the Muslim poor and donated rent free villages to Muslim holy men. During his campaigns he strictly ordered his soldiers to spare mosques, respect holy men and their sacred places and honour the *Quran*. This has been admitted by the court historians *Kaifi Khan*. This was in keeping with Hindu tradition which was followed by the Vijaynagara emperors.

Shivaji's official seal is in Sanskrit, the sacred language of the Hindus. It proclaims that, "the glory of Shivaji, son of Shahaji shines like the growing new moon phase. It is respected by the world. It is bound by the moral law." Thus it is a clear proof of his ideal of expansion within respectable limits.

"Pratipachandra Lekheva Vardhishnu Vishwa Vandita Shahasunoha Shivasyaisha Maryadeyam Subhadraya Rajate".

Rajwade in his 'Marathi Itihasanche Sadhane' interpretes the seal of Shivaji in the following way.

"Although the first moon is small, men see that it will grow gradually. The seal befits Shivaji, the son of Shahaji."

Shivaji came like a whirlwind and conquered places in the South. His worthy father, who was a statesman - soldier had conquered and governed all by himself, though officially in the name of his master. While his son was completely independent. Had he been given a longer lease of life Shivaji would have undoubtedly created a tolerant Hindu State. Thus Shivaji not only succeeded in unifying the separated pieces of Marathi speaking territory into one nation but also enveloped the South, so he was the nation builder, a nation in the true Western ideology.

SHIVAJI IN KARNATAKA



MAP - III

SHIVAJI IN KARNATAKA.

1. Shivaji's expeditions into North Karnataka :-

- a. *Raibag, Khanapur, Soundatti, Murgod, Huli, Ramdurg, Gokak, Suligav* in *Belgaum* district.
- b. *Mudhol, Bagalkot* in *Bijapur* district.
- c. *Dharwad, Hubli, Devarhubbali, Gadag, Lakshmeshavar, Nargund, Navalgund, Yadwad* in *Dharwad* district.

2. Shivaji's grand retreat through Karnataka during his Karnataka expedition.

From the *Coromandal* Coast, Shivaji visited his father's jagir at *Kolar Hoskote, Chikkaballapur, Doddaballapur, Bangalore*. On the borders of *Srirangapattam* there were clashes between Shivaji's forces and that of *Chikkadevraya* of *Mysore*. From here he marched via *Sira* to *Hampi*, visited the old relics of the *Vijaynagar* empire. He attacked *Koppal* and seized it. On his way he looted *Gadag* and *Lakshmeshwar* in *Dharwar* district. His inscription is found at *Bhadrapur* in *Navalgund* taluq of the same district. While he was stationed at *Yadwad*, 6 kms from *Dharwar* that battle between his forces and that of *Mallamma* of *Belavadi* took place in the year 1678. The sculpture of *Shivaji* with *Mallamma* is found here. (See V 4/5) He later left for *Raigad* via *Torgal* (*Belgaum* district).

3. Administrative divisions under Shivaji

Shivaji consolidated his Karnataka conquest and made arrangements for their administration.

His administrative divisions were -

1. *Belgaum* 2. *Sampgaon* 3. *Belavadi* 4. *Betegere* 5. *Navalgund*
6. *Gadag* 7. *Lakshmeshwar* 8. *Koppal* in North Karnataka, while

9. *Doddaballapur, Chikkaballapur, Kolar, Hoskote* in the South East Karnataka.

4. Shivaji's forts in Karnataka.

Sabhasad Bakhar gives a list of forts either built or acquired by Shivaji. These forts have been identified in the *Maharashtra State Gazetteer* as well as *Karnataka state Gazetteer*. An attempt has been made to identify and locate them geographically.

Gazeteer of Bombay Presidency, Belgaum district, Vol XXI (Bombay 1884, P 551) gives a list of 10 forts held by Shivaji till 1680.

1. *Mahipalgad*, 10 miles West of *Belgaum*.
2. *Bhimgad*, 16 miles South West of *Belgaum*.
3. *Nandgad*, 7 miles South East of *Khanapur*.
4. *Gokakgad* known as *Panchamigudda*.
5. *Parasgad*, South of *Soundatti*.
6. *Katharigad*, North West of *Soundatti*.
7. *Huli*.
8. *Pavitrargad*, 20 miles of *Chikkodi*.
9. *Vallabhgad*, 15 miles South West of *Chikkodi*.
10. *Murgad*.

Shivaji's souvenir gives a list of some more forts -

11. *Nachangad* and
12. *Mayurgad* near *Navalgund* in *Dharwar* district.
13. *Mahantgad*, North of *Nargund*.
14. *Kopalgad*, West of *Belgaum*.
15. *Gajendragad* in *Dharwad* district.
16. *Murmagad* or *Siddagad*, North of *Karwar*.
17. *Srimantgad*, *Bellary* district.
18. *Bhujbalgad* has been identified with *Rangad* in *Belgaum* district.

CHAPTER 2

Footnotes

1. (Bombay Gaze. Vol I. Part II, P 30)
2. (Shiva Charitra Sahitya. Vol I. P 4)
3. (Shejwalkar, vij Sexcent Vol, P 129)
4. (History of Sardesai family. Vol I. P 43, Shejwalkar, P 129)
5. (Rmvc, P 81)
6. (Ibid, according to Sabhasad he was 12 years old, P 4)
7. (Punyashlok Chatrapati Shivaji. Balasaheb Haridas, P 73)
8. (PA, 3-44)
9. (P 60)
10. (Part 3 article 151. P 130-144 V.C. Bendre P 421).
11. (P 101)
12. (This theory of Kanthirava being a model to Shivaji was first put forward by *Betegere Krishnasharma* in his Karnataka Jan Jeevan, 1939 P 127)
13. (SKA. Introduction to the History of the Nayakas of Madura, P 133)
14. (Sabhasad. P 4)]
15. (Shivbharat sources, P 45)
16. (The Karnataka Historical review. Vol V, Part II, July 1938, PP 20-21)
17. (Indian Historical records commission proceedings 1958, Part II, PP 70-71)
18. (Shivkalin Patrasara Sangraha, 753, P 166, 780, P 173. Aitihāsik Pharasi Sahity, Part 3. P116).
19. (Farman of Adilshah. dated Jan 30th, 1658, SCS, V P17).
20. (Sardesai, P 127)
21. (Kale, P119)
22. (Taylor's letter from Goa to Surat. 14th Dec. 1664, Bal Vol.I, Part II, P107)
23. (FR Surat 3, Consul. 24th May Vol.87, Shivaji and his times, P236)
24. (E R S II. P 62)
25. (FR Surat, Vol. 89, Fol26, Shivaji and his Times, P299)
26. (P 94)
27. (SCS V, 300 1973, P6-7. G.H.Khare. identifies Bhujbalgad to Ramdurg)
28. (KI VI No.80. B.R.Gopal KUD Pub 1973)
29. (Glimpses of Maratha socio - eco History, KN Chitnis P 18)
30. (Shiv Kalinpatrasar Sangrah No. 663)
31. (Ka St Gaz. S Kanara Dist, P 58-59)
32. (ERS, Part I P-3-4, The Eng. Factories in India 1655-1660 P251, Mehandale P958)
33. (Foster, Eng factories in India 1661-64 - P 229)
34. (SR PSS)

35. (SK PSS)
36. (Bulletin of the Deccan college 1942-43, P 140)
37. (Surat letter to the Co. dated 26 Nov. 1664 - Bal Vol.I, Part II P105)
38. (Duff P 91, Revi Ed P 157)
39. (Annals II P 202, KDS. P 110. Footnote)
40. (Foster EFl 1661-64. P 358)
41. (Bal, P519)
42. (M.A. Desai A History of Bombay P 28-29)
43. (Batavia Dagb Regi 1665-66,Bal, P-519)
44. (Duff P 116)
45. (Eng records on Shivaji P 107)
46. (P 145)
47. (Ibid)
48. (Karnataka Gazetteer NK. Dist. P 145)
49. (Eng Records on Shivaji 1107, Shejwalkar P 146)
50. (E F I (NS) Vol I, P 319, St P 247)
51. (KWR letter dated 14th June 1674 E F I (NS) P 319)
52. (F R Surat Vol 88 E F I (NS) PP 335-6)
53. (P 72)
54. (Sources P 219)
55. (E R on Shivaji Vol II 49)
56. (F R Surat Vol 88 Fol 61 & 58, Letters from K W R to Surat dated 21st & 25th May 1675, E F I (NS) P 336, Desai Op cit P 38)
57. (Duff I 201-202, Kin Par P 241, Kar State Gaz NK dist , P 146)
58. (Sardesai P 229)
59. (Vol II P 55, Pagadi P 25 253, Shivaji and his times 4th edi. P241, based on ER Surat P 103-4 Rajapur to Surat, 27th Aug. 1675, ERS Part I 114)
60. (Alexander Hamilton, A new account of the East Indies Vol I, P 159)
61. (E F I P 342, B.S. Sastry P 116)
62. (Eng letter from Karwar, E F I P 245, 25/9/1663)
63. (Eng Rec on Shiv Vol II P 55, Pagadi P 252)
64. (Sardesai, P 215)
65. (S.K.A. Introduction to the History of Nayakas of Madura - **Satyanath Aiyar**)
66. (P 133-4)
67. (Ramasharma P 396 footnote no. 62)
68. (P 137)
69. (Fryer consult letters of 16th June, 20th June, 16th July, 3rd August 1677)
70. (Sardesai P 243)
71. (Sabhasad, P 78)
72. (P23, Kamal Gokhale's Shivaputra Sambhaji, P15)

73. (P 36)
74. (Shejwalkar P 133)
75. (P 74)
76. (PP 80 - 81)
77. (C.S. Srinivasachari, D.V. Potdar comme vol 1950, P 1)
78. (R.S. Sharma M H R, P 184)
79. (S K A, Intro to History of Nayakas of Madura, Footnote PP 177)
80. (Martin, Sen P236)
81. (Sardesai, P 234)
82. (Rise of the Maratha power, P 174)
83. (Sen, Shivasharitra P 119)
84. (Sarkar Shivaji P 283)
85. (C.K. Srinivasan P 139)
86. (La mission de Madura. R.S. Aiyar, History of the Nayakas of Madura, P 280)
87. (Sardesai P 237)
88. (S K A P 444)
89. (Sardesai P 235)
90. (Sardesai P 234)
91. (S K A Ancient India and History and Culture, P 448).
92. (Sen's Foreign biographies, P 262)
93. (Ibid P 264)
94. (English records on Shivaji, Vol II, P 125)
95. (S K A, P 448)
96. (An estimate of Madanna from the French records, Journal of Indian History, Vol IX, PP 298 - 313, C.K. Srinivasan, P 153 - 54)
97. (C.S. Srinivasan, P 153)
98. (Sen's studies in Indian History, P 139)
99. (Shivaji & his Times, 4th Edi 1948, P 270)
100. (Sardesai P 238)
101. (S K A, P 446)
102. (Sardesai P 238)
103. (Dagh Regi of 1677, P 319 of 2nd Oct. Balkrishna, P 232)
104. (Sabhasad Wakaskar Edi, P 89 - 91, Source book, P 125 - 127)
105. (Sabhasad P 27)
106. (Shivaji's letter to Maloji is a clear proof of it, Shivkalin Patrasar Sangrah 559, letter no. 1901)
107. (Sarkar, Shivaji and his times, P 279)
108. (S. Krishnaswamy, Shivaji in Tamilnadu P 149, Founders of Maharashtra)
109. (P52)
110. (Kalami Bakhar P 92)

111. (Pagadi on Shivaji, P 281 Footnote)
112. (P 32)
113. (Records of Fort St George, Vol I P 7, Diary & Consultation book 1672 - 78, PP 112 - 3, dated 9th May 1677 quoted from CK Srinivasan P 153)
114. (Dairy and consul P113, C.K.Srinivasan P153)
115. (Consultation Fort St. George, 14th May 1677, Balkrishna P 236)
116. (Ormes *Fragments*, (LXXXIV Bal P238)
117. (C.S. Srinivasachari, D.V. Potdar Comme Vol 1950, P2, quoted from Narayan Kone's work)
118. (Sen, Sivachtrapati, P 124)
119. (Sen's Foreign Biography, P 264)
120. (La mission III, P 281 - 2)
121. (C.S. Srinivasachari, Ibid P2)
122. (91 Kalami Bakhar, P 81)
123. (SKA, Ancient India & S. Indian History & culture Vol II, P 458 - 1941)
124. (Sherwani. History of Medi-Deccan P 338, Martin 150-151, Bal P245)
125. (Letter of St. George, Vol 27, P 16, 27th June 1677, Balkrishna, P 237, Martin 103 - 133, Sen P240)
126. (A letter from Fort St.Georga Vol 27, PP 17-18, 16th July 1677 Bal, P242)
127. (2nd October 1677. Balkrishna, P 242)
128. (Ibid)
129. (Congimedu, north of Pondicherry of Orme's map, war in Industan, P 30)
130. (Quoted from Prof. C.S. Srinivasachari)
131. (Sen, Sivach - P 299 - 300)
132. (Sarkar Ch XII Shivaji & his Times P 307)
133. (Memoires P 110, Sen, P 299)
134. (Ibid P 113 - 4. Sen 306 - 7)
135. (P 319)
136. (K.A. Nilakanth Sastri, proceedings of the Indian History Congress, III session, Calcutta 1939, P 1156-57)
137. (Heeres stapel No 386, iii, P 61 - 65)
138. (Sen, Foreign Bio, P 299 - 307)
139. (No 410 Heeres iii, PP 126-7, KAN P 1163)
140. (Sabhasad, P 90, Shiv Dig, P 310)
141. (Sources, P 129)
142. (SKA P 455)
143. (Ibid)
144. (Hist of Nayakas of Madura, P 176)
145. (Muddachari B. P 69)
146. (Martin, Sen, P214)

147. (History of Nayak of Majura, P 178)
148. (Sen, Siva chat. PP 125 - 126)
149. (Pagadi P 287)
150. (Vide Diary and consultation book, Fort St. George 1672 - 78, PP 123 & the Maratha rule in Carnatic by C.K.S. Eng Records on Shivaji Vol II, P 137).
151. (Mahavidwan Pandit V Natesan. *Madras*, Chatrapati Shivaji visits *Madras*, 1976, 28th session of All India oriental conference DWR. Based on the (same source) factory records and Vestiges, P 371, 357 Prof Shejwalkar opines that 22nd September 1677 Shivaji was at Vanikamwadi, 40 miles west of Vellore, P 288).
152. (English Record on Shivaji Vol II 164, letter from Madras, dated 27th May 1678)
153. (P 251)
154. (Orme's Hist fragments of the Mughal empire note 48, Bal, P 234)
155. (Source Book. P40)
156. (Apratmavira Charite, P 130)
157. (P 2)
158. (P 2)
159. (Cb.Dev - Bin. P 2)
160. (Muddachari. P 61).
161. (Kamat, JMS Vol 60, P 35)
162. (Archeological report of Mysore 1910, P 14 - Muddachari, P 60)
163. (Sabhasad Wakaskar Edi, P 94)
164. (P 94)
165. (P 36)
166. (Chitnis, P 142. Sabhasad, P 95)
167. (FR of Surat. 29 Oct.1677, Bal, P 262)
168. (P 145. by Henry Oxinden, dated 29th October 1677, Bombay)
169. (P 142)
170. (Sabhasad Bakhar, P 92, Chit Bakhar, P 142)
171. (SII Vol. XV, P 323)
172. (F.R. Surat 107. 28th February 1678)
173. (Turukari means enemy of Turks or Turushkas, this title as given to the family because it took the lead in resisting Adilshahis of Bijapur, G.S. Dixit 'A new portrait of Shivaji', A.G. Pawar Feli Vol. P 21)
174. (P 38)
175. (P 39)
176. (Sources, P 128)
177. (P 42)
178. (P 43)
179. (P 45)
180. (Sabhasad Bakhar Wakaskar Edi, P 94)

181. (P 47)
182. (P72)
183. (P73)
184. (G.S. Dixit 'A new portrait of Shivaji', A.G. Pawar Feli.. P 21)
185. (F R Surat 107, 28th February 1678)
186. (Pagadi, P 292)
187. (IbidP 293)
188. (P 33)
189. (Chidanand Murthy, P321)
190. (Muriga Taravali, P281, Chidanand Murthy, P321)
191. (Chidanand Murthy, P324)
192. (PSS, P III, P332, JS, P75)
193. (P32, Shiv. Ch.Pr)
194. (ERS II No.292, 8.4.1678, No.296 5.5.1678)
195. (ERS II No.328, 12.9.1678)

CHAPTER - 3

CONSERVATION OF MARATHA DOMAIN IN KARNATAKA (1680-1707 A.D.)

3.1 Sambhaji in Karnataka

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Map IV : Rajaram's Journey through Karnataka

Conservation of Maratha domain in Karnataka 1680-1707 A.D.

3.1.1 Sambhaji Episode 1680 - 1689

Shivaji died without naming his successor. As a result *Raigad* became virtually the centre of plots and counter plots, the Ministers of Shivaji were divided on their allegiance to Sambhaji the elder & Rajaram the younger son of Shivaji. Soyarabai, mother of Rajaram played her cards and made her son the *Chatrapati*. At this time, Sambhaji was involved in a battle against the Mughals at *Burhanpur*. (*Kafikhan*, the Mughal official writer states that Sambhaji was there between 22nd to 19th February 1680, laying siege to *Burhanpur, Muntakha, Bullabbad*.¹

Sambhaji supported by *Hambirrao Mohite*, the Commander of Maratha army succeeded in thwarting the ambitions of his stepmother and the supporters. He took over the reigns of the Government from 18th June onwards and got coronated on 20th July 1681.² Sambhaji's short reign had been full of travails. He had to deal with internal and external enemies. He had to set right his house first. He had to find out the trustworthy people. Aurangzeb was ready to sow the seeds of dissensions in the Maratha court. At the same time, he fell with a full force on Maharashtra 'could be under his thumb', with a preconceived notion that with Shivaji dead, Maharashtra could be under his thumb.

The Sultan of *Bijapur* also took advantage of the situation at *Raigad* and sent a small army which attacked the fort of *Nandi*, in the Karnataka region, controlled by the Maratha officers. Epigraphical record at *Nandi* describes the situation. It states that when Sambhaji was ruling peacefully at *Chikkaballapur* (which is close to *Nandidurga*) he was besieged by '*Milechchas*' whom he defeated. The inscription is dated 21st July 1680.³ A contemporay letter corroborates the incident.⁴

3.1.2 CONDITION OF KARNATAKA IN 1680 - 1681.

Shivaji's sweeping victories in Karnataka at the cost of *Bijapur* had its effect on the tributary states, which kept peace only because *Bijapur* was strong. Now the weakness of *Bijapur* was evident and bickerings started between *Sondha* and *Keladi*, between *Mysore* and *Keladi*, then between *Madura* and *Tanjore*.

There were mainly two major powers in the Karnataka - One *Mysore* ruled by *Chikkadevaraya* and the *Keladi* or *Bidnur* kingdom ruled by *Chennammaji* assisted by her son *Besavappa Nayaka*. *Chennamma* and *Shivaji* had cordial relations as mentioned in the earlier chapter on *Shivaji*. In the Carnatic, *Madura* was ruled by *Chokkanath*. *Vyankoji* reigned from *Tanjore*. *Raghunath Narayan* and *Janardhan Pant* were placed in charge of *Prant Karnataka* by *Shivaji*. But *Sambhaji* displaced them by his brother-in-law *Haraji Mahadik*. He was stationed at *Jinjee*. Besides there were a number of petty chieftans, such as *Setupatis*, *Kodagu* ruler, *Tigulas*, *Madakari Nayaka* III of *Chitradurga* etc.

Chikkadevaraya had started on his expansionist policy at the cost of *Madura* and *Tanjore*. He had already penetrated into Carnatic, occupying many places belonging to *Chokkanath*. In the west the *Mysore* ruler sent a force against the *Bidnur* kingdom, but it was defeated by *Chennamma* at *Vasudhare*. She also seized *Kadur*, *Banavar Hassan* and made arrangements for their safety.

Haraji Mahadik, the Governor of the Marathas made attempts to stabilise the Maratha rule in Karnataka. He laid siege to *Dharmapuri* to the east of *Mysore*. The siege lasted for 8 months.⁵

3.1.3 Motive behind Sambhaji's Karnataka Penetration

In spite of his pre-occupation with home and outside, like *Siddis* of *Janjira*, the *English*, the *Portuguese* on the west coast, the *Mughals* in the north,

Sambhaji decided to concentrate on the condition of his far off territory in Carnatic. After Shivaji's departure from Karnataka the local chiefs had openly raised their heads again.

From north Karnataka there were complaints from *Desai of Murgod*, *Rudrappa* against some of the Maratha officers who were extorting money, obstructing the day to day administration. Even *Desais of Belgaum* had problems and sought Sambhaji's help.

The *Shivaji Mallammaji Samarotsava* gives an interesting account. Accordingly Sambhaji wanted to sieze *Belavadi* and he tried to get hold of *Mallamma* too. The work says *Tarabai* who came to know of this, cautioned *Mallamma* of Sambhaji's impending war intentions.⁶

Sambhaji wanted to punish *Desais of Karwar* who had rebelled against him and had handed over the fort and adjoining region from *Bhatkal* to *Avarse* river to the *Portuguese*. The *Desai* had also captured the Maratha fleet harboured at *Karwar*. The Mughal army was annoyed with Sambhaji for confiscating their *vatans* from the south konkan region and Portuguese took advantage and helped them to rebel against Sambhaji.⁷

Sambhaji was also prompted by the ideal of safeguarding his patrimony in Karnataka. With Mughal menace on its increase, Sambhaji like his father thought on the idea of uniting the southern powers against their common enemy in the north. The Sultan of Bijapur and Sambhaji came together on this issue is evident from.⁸ Sambhaji's efforts in this direction paid dividends when Rajaram took shelter later in 1690.

3.1.3.1 Sambhaji's 1st attack on Karnataka.

3.1.3.1.1 Issue of Trichanapalli

Trichanapalli had become a bone of contention between *Mysore* and *Madura*. Both tried to grab it. *Chokkanath* of *Madura* to retain his hold over *Trichanapalli* made a triple alliance with *Haraji* of *Jinji* and *Vyankoji* of *Tanjore* and *Setupatis* of *Marwad* against *Mysore*. The Maratha army under *Haraji* with *Shamaji Punde*, *Jaitaji Katkar* and *Dadaji Kakade* proceeded to help *Madura*.⁹ The combined army defeated *Kumaraia* the commander of the *Mysore* army who had besieged *Trichanapally*. *Jedhe Sakavali* clarifies that *Kumaraia's* force including 2000 horses was reduced by the Marathas who had gone to *Trichanapally* to help the *Madura* ruler. Although *Mysore* was defeated in the *Trichanapalli* battle, many forts were still under the *Mysore* control.

3.1.3.1.2 Battle of Banavar - 1682

When the *Mysore* army was still engaged in *Trichanapali*, *Sambhaji* made alliances with *Qutbshah* of *Golconda*, *Basavappa Nayaka* of *Keladi*. *Sambhaji* came personally to south and encamped at *Banavar*. Maratha army laid siege to *Srirangapatam*, the capital of *Chickdevaraya*. *Kumaraia* sent an army to the rescue of the capital under his son *Doddayya*. The Marathas were defeated by the *Mysore* army and the Maratha commanders *Dadaji Kakade* and *Jaitaji Katkar* were captured and hacked to death. The Kannada source "*Chickkadevaraya Binnapam*" describes this in detail, while *Wilks* feels "*The victory of the Mysore was won by means of most unmilitary practices*" and he gives the description of the way in which the Marathas had been vanquished, based on *C.B.* Three thousand bullocks were sent against the Maratha camp at night with burning torches tied to their horns, When Maratha army was preparing to face the enemy from that particular direction where they saw light. *Doddayya*, the *Mysore* commander attacked them from rear and thus obtained

"an easy but most sanguinary victory".¹⁰ The inscription at *Srirangapattam* of 1686 confirms the incident further "Shambu lost his valour, *Qutbshah* failed in his purpose. *Ikkeri Basava* was disgraced."¹¹

Even Aurangzeb took note of Maratha debacle and praised *Chickkdevaraya*.¹² *Chickkdevaraya Binnapam* further says that the Mysore ruler sent an embassy to Aurangzeb and requested him to punish Bijapur and Golconda Sultans who had not only paid tributes, but had helped Sambhaji in this was against him. Aurangzeb rightly punished the two sultans by subduing them, and their kingdom.¹³ This only helps us in providing the date of the battle which must be earlier to 1685. i.e. prior to Aurangzeb's conquest of Bijapur and Golconda. *Kumaraia* the Mysore commander served Mysore till 1682 and hence the battle must have taken place only in that year and in the month of April.¹⁴

After the defeat of *Banavar* Sambhaji decided to drive out the Mysoreans from *Madura* and shifted his camp to *Trichanapalli*. Assisted by *Ikkeri Nayaka* and *Sultan* of *Golconda*, the Maratha army captured *Teghanapatam* and *Portonovo*, the **Dutch Records** speak of the differences in business due to continuous wars of the Marathas.¹⁵ Thus the activities of Sambhaji, *Haraji* and *Ekoji* hampered the progress of *Mysore*.

Soon after this, *Haraji* the commander of Sambhaji avenged the defeat upon Mysore army under *Kumaraia* who was still busy in *Trichanapalli*. He was at disadvantage as he had sent half of his army to Mysore when *Dadaji* and *Jaitaji* had attacked *Srirangpatam*. A Jesuit letter states that the Marathas of *Jingi* had mercilessly butchered the *Mysore* army and had taken *Kumaraia* captive. This incident must have taken place by the middle of 1682.¹⁶

A bitter war must have ensued between the kingdom of Mysore and the Marathas at Jingi, after these battles, Chikkadevaraya, hard pressed by the Maratha activities, must have appealed to Aurangzeb who was at Aurangabad, for military help. This request to Aurangzeb by the Mysore ruler has been mentioned by C.B. Aurangzeb deputed Suyayat Khan to Srirangapatam on 17th April 1684. Meanwhile skirmishes, plunder, loot between the Mysore and Marathas continued. Dadaji Kakade with 3000 horses, 2000 foot was stationed at Mantor (Maddura) in the Karnataka. The Raja of Mysore despatched 7000 horse and 15000 foot to defend the territory against the Marathas. The Mughal army captured Dadaji Kakade, his son and brother Bhimji, besides 1000 soldiers died and many were wounded. The allied army of the Mughals and Mysore captured 1000 horses, weapons and umbrellas (Chatri) alongwith the fort ¹⁷ Sambhaji had to rush to Panhala as he expected Mughal attack from the North.

Between 1682 - 84 there must have been many skirmishes between Mysore and Marathas, both at Srirangapatam and at Trichanapally. Both tasted victory and defeat alternately. It is a fact that the Mysore under Chikkadevaraya defeated Sambhaji and his allies Golconda, Bijapur with Mughal help and in these skirmishes Dadaji and Jaitaji must have been killed *and Sambhaji* was unsuccessful. The name of Dadaji occurs in 1684 as per the persian sources, although the Srirangapatam inscription of 1686 speaks of his death under the Mysoreans. Thus Dadaji might have been killed in one of the battles waged between 1682-84 AD.

3.1.3.2 SAMBHAJI'S SECOND ATTACK ON KARNATAKA

Edward Scott Warring writes "Sambhaji in 1686 was engaged against the forts and districts belonging to Bijapur Government in Karnataka". At this time Aurangzeb was busy reducing Bijapur. ¹⁸ Thus Bijapur found herself cornered by two enemies. Sambhaji's ire against Mysore was basically because it had

taken assistance from Aurangzeb to put down the *Paleygars* of the south. *Chikkadevaraya Binnapam* refers to the displeasure of these Palegars who revolted against *Chikkadevaraya*. These disgruntled chiefs joined Sambhaji against the *Mysore* ruler. They were chieftans of *Morasa*, *Tigud* (Tamil) 'Kodagar and Maleya'. In spite of this, the *Mysore* ruler defended his kingdom with the help of *Moravas*. He defeated and pursued the allied armies.¹⁹

Sambhaji once again had to hurry back to *Panhala* due to the fear of Mughal attack. *Chikkadeva* claims to have captured many fortresses of the Marathas which had been deserted by them on hearing their defeat at the hands of *Mysore* at *Dharmapuri*. These fortresses include those of *Kenge Vamalur*, *Bevahalli*, *Bairanetta* and *Kunnattur*.²⁰ The Maratha possessions around *Bangalore* region were slowly going out of hand by 1676, *Chikkadevaraya* had taken *Chikkanayakanhalli*, *Kandikere*, *Tyamagondlu* from *Vyankoji*.²¹

Yashwantrao an officer under *Vyankoji* is stated to have laid siege to *Husavoor* (Hoskote, near Bangalore), but he failed in his attempt due to the strength of the *Mysore* army. In this scuffle, he lost his nose. As a result of this siege of *Husavooru* (Newtown) *Vyankoji* lost his old town of *Bangalore* too.²² *Yeshwantrao* had been in the service of *Shahaji* whose stronghold was Hoskote.²³ The loss of Hoskote prompted him to recapture in 1687 but in vain.

The activities of the *Mysore* army made it possible for *Vyankoji* to retain the possessions in Karnataka from the distant *Tanjore*. He was forced to part with *Bangalore* in 1687, and he decided to sell it to *Chikkadevaraya* for Rs. Three lacs. Deed for transfer had been settled.²⁴ but before the fixed amount could be paid, *Bangalore* was occupied by *Qasimkhan*, the Mughal general sent by Aurangzeb. Mughal flag flew over Bangalore on 10th July 1687.²⁵ When the news reached *Haraji*, he along with *Santaji Ghorapade* rushed to *Bangalore*.

The Mysore ruler too marched towards Bangalore, negotiated with Qasimkhan and bought Bangalore for Three lac Rupees.²⁶ *Qasim Khan* was appointed as the *Fauzdar* of Karnataka with *Sira* as the capital.²⁷ It had seven *Paraganas*. *Basavapattana*, *Budihal*, *Sira*, *Penukonda*, *Doddaballapur*, *Hoskote*, *Kolar*, *Tributary* states of *Harapanhalli*, *Kandarpi*, *Anegondi*, *Bidnur*, *Chitradurga*, *Mysore*. Aurangzeb wanted these territories to be bull-work against the Maratha inroads in the south. Mughals remained at *Bangalore* for three years from 1687 to 1690, from the time of its capture by Qasimkhan till Rajaram's dramatic escape to *Jingi*. The *Doddaballapura* inscriptions of *Sheikh Abudulla Farukh* the new kiledar of 1691 confirms this fact.²⁸ Chikkadevaraya might have been forced to buy *Bangalore* at the insistence of Aurangzeb, otherwise it was not that difficult for him to sieze Bangalore for himself with Maratha force far away at Tanjore.

The Mughal documents in Persian language give a different version that *Chikkadevaraya* was a feudatory of the Mughals and that a Mughal force stationed at *Srinrangapattam*. He paid the regular tax to the Mughals and he is called Jamindar of *Srirangapattam*, whose revenue was more than four crores of Rupees hence the richest Zamindar of the area.²⁹ The time when the Bangalore transaction took place, there was a Mughal army at *Bangalore* with a fauzdar stationed in the city. *Chikkadevaraya* sent one Lakmaji with dues mentioned as per the Mughal state records dated 1.3.1703.³⁰ Haraji who had come to rescue Bangalore was greatly perturbed by the turn of events. He decied to reduce Mysore into a Maratha vassal.³¹

He sent Kesavpant and Santaji with 18000 horse to devastate the Mysore kingdom. A fierce battle was faught in the neighbourhood of *Srinrangapattam*, in which the Marathas were defeated.³² Haraji had to rush to save *Jinji* from Mughal attack.³³ At the same time he had to prevent the entry of Mughals into

Karnataka, to save Maratha possessions. He sent *Gopal Dadaji* and *Vittal Paljirao* who were successful in their venture and ordered their officers to proceed to *Chennapattana* and occupy the adjoining regions.³⁴

After the capture of Bijapur and Golconda, it was evident that Aurangzeb would concentrate on Maharashtra & Karnataka. Sambhaji in order to protect his territories in Karnataka posted *Kesava Trimal* and *Santaji Ghorpade* in November 1686 to assist Haraji. Both reached Karnataka in February with a force of 12000. Since Sambhaji doubted the loyalty of Haraji.³⁵ Kesav Trimal was sent. This change in officers gave rise to internal disputes and rumours and English factors expected trouble and the dispute continued till the end.³⁶ The Marathas under *Haraji* continued to harass the Mughals and were successful in the *Carnatic* region. The territory from *Jinji* to *St. Thome* and other surrounding towns was under the command of the Marathas who had fortified themselves.³⁷

On the other hand the Marathas were losing their hold over Karnataka possessions, *Doddaballapur* and *Bangalore*. An inscription at *Doddaballapur* states that the area came under Qasimkhan.³⁸ From 1687 to 1688 Sambhaji was involved in life and death struggle with Aurangzeb. There is no major raid by the Marathas after 1687, since Haraji died in 1689. *Vyankoji* who had lost *Bangalore* died in 1688. Sambhaji himself was killed in 1689. Perhaps *Shahaji II*, son of *Vyankoji* might have waged a war against Mysore, but *Chikkadevaraya* defeated him, as indicated by *Chikkadevaraya Binnappam* which says that the Mysore ruler had destroyed "*Sambhaji, Shahaji, Santaji, Haraji* and other important Maratha rulers"³⁹

The last inscription indicating Maratha rule over the region is that of 1689 when the Mughals claim to have captured *Doddaballapur* from Sambhaji, which has already been mentioned. After this the *Mysore Wodeyars* and the Mughals

completely occupied the Maratha possessions. The Maratha official who had been serving their Maratha masters took service some under Mysore and some under the Mughals.

3.2 RAJARAM's ROUTE TO JINGI VIA KARNATAKA (Please refer Map No. IV)

Rajaram was enthroned after the tragic death of Sambhaji⁴⁰ while *Rajaram Charitam* of *Kesav Pandit* states that he didnot ascend the throne but like *Bharat* conducted the administration without sitting on the throne.⁴¹ Though the biographer of Rajaram, *Kesav Pandit* has not made known of the real intentions of Rajaram's southern sojourn, *V.C. Bendre* feels that it was to save the Maratha kingdom in the Karnataka from that of Mughals that Rajaram left Panhala. There was disorder and confusion in Karnataka & *Haraji* had fallen sick so there was need to control. But the reason has been quite contrary. Within a months time of Rajaram taking over the Government, Aurangzeb sent *Zulfiqar Khan*, on 25th March 1689, to capture *Raigad* the Capital of the Marathas. Surrounded by the enemies, the Marathas had difficult time defending the fort. Rajaram's safety was most important. Maharashtra was not safe. Mughals had already penetrated into it, in great numbers. Away from the dangerous, the inaccessible fortress - *Jingi* was chosen as a safer place to take shelter. It could be defended for a longer time with less man-power. The scene of activity would be shifted to the South. Aurangzeb would follow Rajaram, thus directing the Mughals away from the Marathas. The cordial relations maintained by Shivaji with the rulers of the South, saved the Maratha state from complete extinction, even after his death and martyrdom of Sambhaji. It was hoped that Karnataka, being Hindu dominant would make common cause with Rajaram, in fighting the Mughals. Jingi had been a Maratha centre in the South-East Coast of India facing all odds.

The English factors also confirm the point in one of their letters, dated 14th November 1689 and further add that by joining with several Hindu 'Nayakas' the Marathas thought of raising a considerable army to retake the Golconda and Bijapur kingdoms from the Mughal control.⁴² This intention seems plausible by the letters issued by Rajaram later on.

The *Raja of Tanjore, Shahaji II*, a cousin of Rajaram was friendly. Siege of *Raigad* was pressing day by day, Rajaram was forced to leave *Raigad* on 5th April 1689 for *Pratapgad* and from there to *Panhala*. Meanwhile the Mughals captured *Raigad*, the *Rohida*, *Torna* and thereafter *Pratapgad*. Before the army could reach *Panhala*, Rajaram left *Panhala*, with his trusted officers - *Khanjoji Nayak Pansambal*, *Prahlad Niraji*, *Nilkant Moreswara*, *Bahir Moreswara*, *Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad*, *Baji Khandoji Kadam*, *Manaji More*, *Ropaji Bhonsale*, *Santaji Jagtap* and the *Ghorpade brothers* - *Bahirji Maloji* and *Santoji*.⁴³

Aurangzeb had taken all precautions. He had sent letters warning his officers to keep strict watch on the route which Rajaram might take while escaping to Carnatic. (The letter is dated 3.9.1689).

There were letters to the *Desai of Hukkeri* and to *Lawrence Pitt* the Dutch Governor of *Negapatam* to keep watch on Rajaram. The French too were asked to help the Mughals. Thus all roads to *Vellore* was blocked and guarded by the Mughal army.⁴⁴

Chitnis Bakhar mentions Rajaram's flight to *Jingi* clad like a *Lingayat Merchant*. He set forth via *Gokak*, *Soundatti*, *Gadag* and *Lakshmeshwar*. According to *Rajaram Charitam*, the fugitives reached the banks of *Krishna* on 27th September. (See the map V & its illustrations). They crossed the river the

same day and resumed their journey.⁴⁵ Depending upon these two Marathi sources, one can assume that Rajaram crossed *Krishna* and set forth through *Gokak*, *Soundatti*, *Gadag* and *Lakshmeshwar*. *Bendre V.S.* opines that Rajaram crossed another big river, probably *Varada*, a tributary of *Tungabhadra*⁴⁶ quite safely. But the Mughal army under *Syed Abdullah* pursued them. *Rupaji Bhonsale* and *Santaji Jagtap* were left behind to resist the advance of the enemies. On the contrary they suffered defeat from the powerful Mughal army, though they succeeded in wounding *Syed Abdulla*. Thus for the time being the Mughal danger was averted. The journey was resumed under the command of *Rupaji Bhosle*. According to *Sarkar*, *Syed Abdulla's* son, *Hassan Alikhan* in order to avenge his father's defeat overtook the fugitives in an island caled 'Jara' or *Hira* on the *Tungabhadra* river. *Hira* could be identified with either *Hirekerur* or *Harihar*. (*Prof. Chitnis K.N.*, from his unpublished article on *Keladi Chennamma*) *Harihar* seems more plausible since it is on the banks of *Tungabhadra*. *Rupaji Bhosle* held fort against the Mughal army, while with selected few followers, Rajaram made good his escape.⁴⁷ But soon at night when the party found that they were surrounded by the enemy, *Bahirji Ghorpade* crossed *Tungabhadra*, taking Rajaram on his shoulders. *Jedhe Shakavali* gives the name as 'Vasur'. It might be *Hosur* to the North West of *Honnali*. (*Chitnis K.N.*, unpub article). *Linganna* in his *Keladi Nripa Vijay* writes about Rajaram going to 'Ponnali', i.e. *Honnali* in *Shimoga* district.⁴⁸

3.2.1 Rajaram in Keladi Kingdom.

Rajaram's escape from 'Hira' till *Vastare* or *Vasudhare* in *Chitradurga* district of Karnataka has been mentioned by Kannada sources alone. *Shivatatva Ratnakar* of *Basavraj* of *Keladi* (written in 1709) states that after wandering hither and thither Rajaram came to *Bidnur* with his paraphernalia. He rested at *Honnali* in *Shimoga* district and sent words to *Chennamma* of *Keladi* asking for

asylum in her kingdom. ⁴⁹ *Keladi Nripa Vijaya* too confirms this. ⁵⁰ The Queen found herself in dilemma. Her relations with Marathas had been cordial and when Rajaram had sought refuge, she felt it was her duty to extend help to the needy. Thus after consulting with the elders, she took up this great task of sheltering Rajaram at the risk of losing her life and kingdom. She invited him over to Bidnur with due honours. (See the Bidnur Fort-V 6/7). Rajaram is said to have been hidden in *Aramane Koppa*, a royal house in Bidnur. The period of his stay is not known. (See Appendix No. VI and V12 to 20).

This courteous act of *Keladi* Queen brought her face to face with Aurangzeb's ire. The Mughal commander *Ranamastkhan* and *Abdullakhan* pestered her asking for the person of Rajaram. ⁵¹ She denied giving asylum to the Maratha but agreed that he passed through her kingdom. The Mughals were not satisfied with this answer. Aurangzeb wild with rage sent a huge army to crush her. Chennamma expecting this attack shifted to *Bhuvangiridurga* (*Kavaledurga*), a place of more safety and decided to fight the mighty Mughals. She lost some of her important places - *Honnali*, *Mahadevapura*, *Anandpura* and *Bidnur*, her capital itself. The enemies then laid seige to *Bhuvangiri*. The Marathas under *Santaji Ghorpade* with his light cavalry supposed to have resisted the Mughal commanders, *Khan Matlak Khan* and *Sharzakhan*. ⁵² The Mughal army competent on plains found it difficult to cope with hilly tract surrounded by dense forests. The enemy was shut into the narrow tunnel and were killed in hundreds. *Keladi Nripa Vijaya* ascribes victory to *Chennamma*. ⁵³ According to Portuguese sources, the *Keladi* Queen was defeated and was forced to accept a treaty. (A letter written by Portuguese Viceroy to the king of Portuguese dated 1691). *Chicktambur* inscription of *Shikarapur* taluka (Shimoga district) of *Kallegauda* tells us how people, by themselves, built up an army from their own sources, to fight the Mughals and to save their Queen

who had taken up caudgels for a king in distress. The folk songs or *Lavanis* prevalent in the kingdom, praise her valour and generosity. She is supposed to have ended this problem by giving away tribute to Aurangzeb.⁵⁴ *Keladi Nripa Vijay* confirms this by saying that through war and negotiations the Queen stemmed the Mughal invasion. (See Appendix V).

Apart from *Keladi Nripa Vijay* which corroborates the sanskrit work *Rajaram Charitam* of *Kesav Pandit*, there are archeological evidence too in support of Rajaram's sojourn in *Keladi* kingdom. The monuments found around *Bidnur* fort speak about the battle that took place between *Bidnur* Queen and the Mughals. Some of the Marathas might have stayed back to help the *Rani* who had to face the mughal wrath, for having helped them. The sculptures of Maratha soldiers on the outer walls of Nandi pavillion on horse and elephant back confirm this point. (See Appendix No. VI). After her victory over Mughals *Chennamma* is stated to have built a victory tower in front of the *Virbhadra temple* at *Keladi*. (V 28). The victory tower contains the sculpture of *Ganesh* and below that five small images are carved. The middle image is that of a woman, she is identified as *Chennamma* the Queen of *Somasekhar Nayak* of *Keladi*. Besides her is another image of a man in traditional Marathi dress, identified with *Rajaram*, the younger son of *Chatrapati Shivaji*. Both sides are occupied by the royal servants of each royal person.

There is a *Parvati* temple in *Bidnur* and as per the '*Kadat*' (Record book) of the *Sringerimutt*, which is now kept in the *Keladi* museum, *Rajaram* is supposed to have built this temple at *Bidnur*. This temple is adjacent to the *Nilakantheshwar* temple. Most probably *Chennamma* must have got this constructed on *Rajarams* behest. *Rajaram* gave land to this temple for its maintenance as per his letter of 1719 to *Shankaracharya Swamiji* of *Sringerimutt*. According to *Dr. Sundara* the architectural style of this temple

belongs to *Keladi* period. Nearby there is *Subramanya* temple which is also assigned to *Rajaram*. According to local tradition the idol of seven hooded Naga was reinstated by Rajaram with the *Swami* of *Kukke Subramanya*, one of the important centres of *Naga* worship.⁵⁵

3.2.2 RAJARAM AT SHIMOGA :

Meanwhile Rajaram escaped from *Bidnur*. He crossed the river Tungabhadra at *Gajnur* and entered *Shimoga*. His stay at *Shimoga* has been testified by many letters of *Girjoji Mudhaji Yadav* and *Swaroopji Yadav*⁵⁶ Accordingly he stayed along with his trusted *Sardars* in the palace surrounded by Mughal army. From here he managed to send his precious ornaments through *Ardoji Yadav* to *Jingi* fort. In his letters, the latter has made it clear how tortuous route he had to undertake to fulfill his master's duty and how he was duly rewarded for that. The period of his stay in *Shimoga* is not mentioned in the records. The palace where Rajaram is likely to have stayed is called "*Shivappa Nayaka's Palace*".⁵⁷ (Architecture and Art Vol V Part 2, 'The Shivappa Nayakas Palace in Shimoga' A Sundara Director of Government of Karnataka, Archeology & Museum 1987).

From Shimoga Rajaram passed through *Bore Nidehalli*, *Khandya*, *Kalasa*, *Vasudhare* (*Vastare*) in *Chikamagalur* district of Karnataka.⁵⁸ From *Vasudhare*, Rajaram is said to have come to *Bangalore*. Here the Mughal army was freely moving since the Mysore king *Chikkadevaraya* was on friendly terms with the Mughals. Security had been tightened. Rajaram and his men, who had halted here, came to be suspected, because of the preferential treatment (reverence) shown to Rajaram. They were spared by the ingenuity and presence of mind of *Khando Ballal Chitnis*. Rajaram left *Bangalore* via *Chennapattana* while *Prahlad Niraji* from different directions. (Map IV).

Those who stayed back faced torture.⁵⁹

3.2.3 RAJARAM AT CHENNAPATTANA :

At Chennapattana, near Bangalore, *Yachama Nayaka* and *Ismail Maka* the two generals of former Golconda, who had joined the Mughals, now shifted their allegiance to the Marathas at the behest of *Peshwa Nilo Moreshwar*. They joined the Maratha band after their talks with Rajaram.⁶⁰ From the days of Shivaji, the Golconda Sultan had been assisting the Marathas, even during Sambhaji period, Golconda had helped against Mysore. These two Generals who were instructed to capture Rajaram turned the tables and joined him instead. The Marathas under *Santaji*, took hold of *Chennapattana* and appointed Maratha officers by name *Ekoji* and *Shivaji* to look after these territories.⁶¹ *Chikkadevaraya* surprised at the turn of events sent an army and defeated the Marathas at *Chennapattana*, says *Chikkadevaraj Binnapam*⁶²

From *Chennapattana* Rajaram came to *Srirangapatam* and according to *Edward Scott Warring*, pursued by the enemies after his brother's (Sambhaji's) death, with his two accomplices, crossed Kaveri and escaped to *Jingi*.⁶³

By 1689 28th October he is supposed to have reached *Vellore*⁶⁴ and from there he came to *Jingi* and established the Maratha council and appointed 'Asthapradhans'.

3.2.4 RAJARAM AND SONDHA :

Rajaram was badly in need of finances during his strenuous journey to safety through Karnataka. Rajaram had issued 'Varats' or bills of exchange to some creditors in favour of *Sondha* chief *Sadashiva*, but since the amount was not deposited in time in the office on which the bills were drawn, the creditors had started troubling. It was *Sadashiva* the ruler of *Sondha*, who provided the

necessary resources against the promissory note "*Bhasapatra*" of Rajaram, thereby easing the financial problems of the Maratha chief.⁶⁵

Sadashiv was a versatile ruler, a poet and an author of a political treatise called *Sadashiva Niti* - Both the *Sondha* ruler and Rajaram seemed to have maintained the cordial relations. *Madhavrao* the envoy of *Sondha* met Rajaram to discuss the political situation of the Deccan and to extend full co-operation to the Maratha king in the reinstitution and reorganisation⁶⁶

Sadashiva was ready to help Rajaram on the condition of getting in perpetuity five mahals & forts in *Karwar* district from Rajaram. In return the latter was to get an annual cash payment of 22,200 *Pralayaghati* *hons*. (It is the name of the mint where this hon was issued) Rajaram accepted this proposal and accordingly *Sadashiva* got *Ankola*, *Kadwad*, *Kadre*, *Adar*, *Siveshwara* and forts such as *Mahendragad*, *Madhurgad*, *Sindigad*, *Kholgad*.⁶⁷ Rajaram also seemed to have instructed the *Sondha* chief to stop paying tribute to the Mughals but to pay him and in case of any external aggression offered to help him. This relationship remained intact till *Sadashiva* was alive. He died in 1697 and was succeeded by *Basavalingaraya*. By this time Rajaram had shifted to *Satara* from *Jingi*. Rajaram had entrusted Karnataka possessions to *Ramchandra Pant Amatya*. This was notified to the *Sondha* ruler.⁶⁸ Rajaram died in 1700 A.D and the relationship between the two states continued to be warm and friendly as is confirmed by *Hindurao Ghorpade*, the Maratha deputy in Karnataka, who assured the same relationship.⁶⁹ But *Basavlinga* didnot honour the contract and hence the Marathas ravaged his territory and collected money due to them. Unable to tolerate the harrassment, the *Sondha* chief agreed to observe the original contract, undertaken during his predessor's time, provided they stopped disturbing his region. The *Sondha* state with the help of the Marathas acquired the monopoly rights on five *mahals* and one village from the

Mughals in addition to what they had gained earlier. For this new acquisition, the *Sondha* chief agreed to shell out Rs. 10,000 in addition to the earlier assurance of 25,000 Rs.⁷⁰

Thus Rajaram is supposed to have distributed lavish offices and *Jagirs* to those who had helped him in his perilous journey. Consequently he experienced monetary problems. He was forced to sell *Devanapattanam* (Cuddalore). *Fort St David* to the British who bid the highest. (The information on Rajaram and *Sondha* is taken from Prof. A.R.Kulkarni's article, *The Chief of Sondha and The Marathas in 17th Century*.)

3.3 The Second Front :

Aurangzeb had conquered Bijapur (1686) and Golconda (1687) within three years of his coming to the Deccan. Sambhaji had been captured and beheaded with cruelty. (1689) All the plain country was over-run and hill forts were taken, one after the other. *Raigad* was captured and Sambhaji's wife *Yesubai* and son *Shahu* were taken to Mughal camp. Aurangzeb's dream of crushing the Marathas was almost fulfilled. The whole country from *Narmada* to *Tungabhadra* lay at his feet. The kingdom's fortune was at its lowest ebb, when everything seemed to be lost the Marathas, who were trained under Shivaji's school, stood up in unison to secure their *swarajya*. At the head of this nation was Rajaram, twenty year old, assisted by *Prahlad Niraji*, *Raghunath Pant Hanmante*, *Nilo-Moreshvara*, *Ramchandrapant Amatya*, *Sankaraji Malhar*, *Parasuram Triambak*. Among these leaders the chief responsibility rested upon *Ramchandra Pant* who is credited with organising the scattered Maratha nation after the death of Sambhaji. He had a peculiar genius for recognising merit in men and utilising it to promote the national interest. Among them were *Santaji Ghorpade* and *Dhanaji Jadhav*. For thirty years the duo maintained the

reputation of the Maratha arms and stood bravely against the mighty Mughals. They accompanied Rajaram to *Jingi*, risking their lives to save their master. Thereafter they remained in the Deccan opposing the Mughal army and preventing them from invading Karnataka and *Jingi*. The Marathas had rightly understood the strategic importance of Karnataka. It stood between Maharashtra and *Jingi*, all the important roads passed through this region. This was securely guarded by the Mughals, at different post. In order to maintain contact with *Jingi*, the Marathas had to capture these posts and prevent the Mughal penetration. Rajaram had started giving *jagirs* to his officers in the Mughal dominated areas. Thereby he encouraged them to conquer these territories in his name and extract *chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* and establish themselves in the newly conquered areas. This was an incentive to penetrate into enemy country, Karnataka being a new avenue to extract state revenue.

Chauth and *Sardeshmukhi* were two types of extractions the Marathas made from the areas outside the jurisdiction. one was 1/4 of the total revenue and the other was 10th of the Government's share of the revenue. This claim over Mughal dominated areas was a direct challenge, by which they not only extracted *chauth*, but also were dominant in that country side. Thus the Marathas planned their war strategy afresh and selected Karnataka as a new battleground. In this they were amply helped by the local *Desais*, *Deshmukhs* and *Nadgaudas*.⁷¹ They were successful in their bid so that before the century came to an end, Rajaram was able to return to his country, Maharashtra.

3.3.1 SANTAJI AND DHANAJI -

Santaji had joined Shivaji's service with his father, and two brothers, *Bahirji* and *Maloji*. He had won an extensive *jagir* for his family in *Koppal* district. "He had an inborn genius for handling large troops, changing his tactics at the nick of the time as per the circumstances. He was preeminently a soldier.

but too impetuous, almost ungovernable and imperious. Implicit obedience, strictest discipline and promptness were the hallmark of his military genius.”⁷² He was also known for giving severest punishments for slightest of faults. Hence he was unpopular among his own men. Shivaji's lessons in strict military discipline was followed to the core by Santaji. On the other hand Dhanaji was mild and indulgent, hence soldiers preferred Dhanaji's leniency to Santaji's severity. He had served with distinction under Prataprao Gujar and fought at Umrani and Nesari. He came to be honoured as Jaising for his victories against the Mughals. Certainly he was great general but lacked fire & flash of Santaji. He was jealous of Santaji and resented his rivals promotion to generalship. In spite of differences and professional jealousies, the duo worked together for National cause. Both Santaji and Dhanaji were help-mates of Rajaram who accompanied the latter on his perilous journey to Jingsi via Karnataka. Sarkar has rightly pointed out that the “History of Southern India 1689-1698” is mainly the biography of Santaji and Dhanaji.⁷³

They had to fight without funds, without any resources, against the entire power of the Mughals. When Rajaram escaped from *Raigad* to *Pratapgad*, Santaji alongwith *Vithoji Chauhan* accomplished an extra-ordinary feat of valour which struck terror in the hearts of Mughal camp. Santaji with few of his men attacked the Emperor's camp at *Koregaum* in the dead of night amidst rains. They cut down the royal tent which came down with a big thud, killed the inmates. Luckily the emperor was saved. Santaji carried away sets of large gold pinnacles and other valuables and presented them to Rajaram, who was at *Pratapgad*.

Santaji and his men held the enemy at bay when Rajaram was escaping from Pratapgad to *Panhala*. They looted *Zulfiqar Khan's* army, brought five elephants and valuables. Rajaram rewarded the three *Ghorpade* brothers, *Santaji*,

Bahirji and *Maloji* with titles of '*Mamulkat Madar*', '*Hindurao*, *Amir-ul-umrao*, respectively.

On their journey from *Panhala* to *Bidnur*, Rajaram had taken shelter with the *Bidnur* queen. Hearing this news, Aurangzeb had sent a large force under Jan-nissar Khan, Sharzakhan and emperor's official history admits that Santaji triumphantly opposed them. In the end the Rani paid bribe and settled the matter. The Ghorpade brothers who were imprisoned in the Bijapur fort, escaped.⁷⁴

The Mughal army had spread over in Carnatic and were pursuing Rajaram, hence both Santaji and Dhanaji, the veteran generals were sent to oppose the enemy. Both had developed a technique of warfare which became very effective in subduing the powerful enemy. They used minimum force to overpower the maximum. They could cross long distances in the shortest possible time and could achieve the most successful result by surprise attacks. The Maratha light cavalry moved with lightening speed as opposed to the huge army of the Mughals and took the enemy unawares. Karnataka with its variations in topography provided ample opportunity to the energetic Marathas to use the nature to their advantage. The duo's strategy was to cut off the food and provision supply coming from the North to the Mughal contingents and carry it off to thier tents. The harassed Mughals would pursue them from one end to the other, with no avail. Secondly their tactics included seizure of the Mughal officers and generals there by creating fear in the enemy camp. They would extract huge ransome and release them. Thus Santaji captured Sharzakhan near Satara on 11th May 1690, along with his 4000 horses and eight elephants and released him after getting a ransome of one lakh Rupees. Both Jedhe Sakaval and Masiri Alamgiri admit it.⁷⁵

3.3.2 CAPTURE OF ALIMARDAN KHAN :

In 1692, both Santaji and Dhanaji were sent to assist Rajaram with 15,000 cavalry, Both burst into *Conjeevaram* like a cavalcade. *Alimardan* was the *fauzdar* of *Conjeevaram* who had to bear the brunt of Maratha onslaught. A pitched battle took place near *Kaveripak*, *Alimardan* was wounded and captured alongwith many Mughal soldiers. The Marathas recovered 1500 horses and six elephants. Later on *Alimardan* was released after paying a ransome of two lacks of rupees.⁷⁶

Dhanaji captured *Ismail Maka* as per *Martin's Memoires*.⁷⁷ *Zulfiqarkhan* and *Asadkhan*, the top Mughal generals, unable to face the victorious Marathas paid huge amount to Rajaram and got released the prisoners. The victorious Marathas then laid waste *Golconda - Karnataka, Conjeevaram and Cuddappa* territories, and curtailed the Mughal activities in *Karnataka and Carnatic*. Their lines of communication was snapped, supplies were looted. The Mughals who had besieged *Jingi* were in turn surrounded by the Maratha army. There was acute food shortage and *Zulfiqar khan* marched to bring grain from *Wandiwash* and other places. But Santaji got the news and blocked the Mughal army at *Desur*. 10 miles southwards and encircled *Zulfiqar's* army. Thus the Mughal condition was made worse with no food, continuous harrassment by the Marathas.⁷⁸ This was the right time to strike at them, but Rajaram softened attitude towards the Mughal generals greatly irritated Santaji. He had plans to capture alive all the great Mughal commanders like *Asadkhan, Zulfiqarkhan* and to extract large sums as ransome, besides to secure a treaty from *Aurangzeb* to their advantage. But his plans were fizzled out due to the secret understanding between Rajaram and the Mughal general *Zulfiqar*. This has been admitted by *Martin*.⁷⁹ owing to the sagging health of the Emperor, *Zulfiqar* had ideas of becoming independent in the Deccan, making room for the Marathas too. Hence

the Mughal general had prolonged the siege of Jingsi, deliberately which he could have taken easily.

Santaji a true fighter, couldnot come to terms with Rajaram's diplomatic moves. As Sarkar puts it, he could not tolerate the domination of pen wielders over sword wielders. He was also opposed to the new Governments offer of Jagirs to the officers, a policy desisted by Shivaji. Angry & frustrated he went back to Maharashtra ⁸⁰ It was Ramchandra Pant, who is said to have pacified him and sent him back for national work, instructing him to be faithful to Rajaram.

3.3.3 MARATHA ACTIVITIES IN NORTH KARNATAKA :

The Marathas ravaged the territory around, the Krishna river and with the help of the local Desai's and Nadgaudas, foiled the designs of the Mughals under Asadkhan to capture Bhudargadh, 36 miles South of Kolhapur ⁸¹

Later in April 1691, the Marathas invaded *Raibagh, Hukkeri* in North Karnataka and in this task the *Bedars* under *Pidaya Nayaka* greatly helped the Marathas. ⁸² *Allappa Desai* of *Hukkeri* remained loyal to the Marathas. Aurangzeb sent generals after generals to chastise the Marathas, *Mamurkhan* from *Aurangabad*, *Momikhan*, *fauzdar* of *Terkhwaja Jafar Ali* of *Shahagad*. Mughals faced severe losses, while Marathas gained large booty. Santaji was rewarded for this victory the rights of *Deshmukh* of *Miraj* and other twenty two villages. ⁸³

From 1690 to 1694, a period of four years, the Maratha forces overran the Mughal territory. Forts in *Dharwad* and *Belgaum* region were invested causing lot of damage to the crop. ⁸⁴ By January 1693 Marathas appointed Kesava Raman as subedar of Golconda Karnataka with 1000 horse and 4000 foot.

Santaji became very active in Bijapur territory by 1693 October. The very next year from November 1694 till October 1695 Karnataka was comparatively peaceful and Santaji left for Jingi to help Rajaram.

3.3.4 BATTLE OF DODDERI - 1696

Battle of *Dodderi* is a great landmark in the Mughal Maratha conflict, which proved the superiority of Santaji as a great general, whose master plan to put the Mughal stalwarts into discomfiture, ignominy and death, became a total success. Persian sources alone have described this battle, though the Mughals suffered miserably in this encounter.⁸⁵ It is surprising that none of the Maratha sources have noted down this victory of the Marathas. *Jedhe Sakavali* mentioned the event in only one sentence.⁸⁶ The Kannada sources are particularly important since they mention not only about the battle, but also the help rendered by the petty local chieftans like *Chitradurga* and *Bedars* to the Marathas in their war of independence. One is M.S. Puttanna's, '*Chitradurga Paleyagararu*' in Kannada. This source traces the history of the *Chitradurga*. Secondly, the *Lavani* (folk song) found in *Dodderi* narrates the miserable death of Qasimkhan, the Mughal general at the hands of the Marathas, assisted by the *Chitradurga* chiefs.

The Kannada source says that Santaji came with 20,000 horse to fight against *Qasimkhan* and that *Khan* took refuge in the fort of *Dodderi*. *Bharamappa Nayaka* chief of *Chitradurga* sent a force under *Kudatini Venkanna* and *Holalakere Bhimrao* to help Santaji.⁸⁷ According to the Persian source the *Chitradurga* chieftan helped the Marathas in getting the loot. But as per the *Lavani*, the main cause being the hatred between *Qasim* and *Bharamappa Nayaka*. The latter was not paying his dues to the Mughals and by joining the Marathas, he thought of freeing himself from the Mughal control. *Dodderi* is a small village in the *Chellekere* taluka of *Chitradurga* district. Aurangzeb had

encamped at *Burhanpur* on the bank of *Bhima*. Santaji was reported to be going back to his own estate of *Koppal* in the same district, heavily loaded with booty from the Mughals. Aurangzeb sent *Qasimkhan* to seize this loot. In order to reinforce *Qasimkhan* the Mughal Emperor sent a detachment of choice generals *Khanzadakh*, a close relative of his, *Saif Shikan Khan*, *Sayid Aslatkhan*, *Muhammad Murat* etc. *Qasimkhan* busied himself in entertaining these guests of high ranking order.⁸⁸

Santaji who had accurate knowledge of the movements of the Mughal troops used highest tactical power. He planned his strategy well. He divided his army into three divisions. The first division was meant to plunder the camp which had displayed all the costly items, the second division was to blockade the Mughal army, which pursued them. The third division was kept as a reserve. The timing was accurate. The move was co-ordinated in such a way as to achieve the maximum result with minimum use of manpower. *Saqi Mustaid Khan* and *Khaifikh* have provided details of this battle.⁸⁹ Santaji and his first division looted the camp at midnight. *Qasimkhan* was awoken and he without waking up his honoured guests went out to meet the enemy. He might have crossed four miles, he was attacked by the Maratha second division. The Maratha army was assisted by strong *Bedars* who were known as 'Kalapede' or 'Black Musketeers', renowned as best marksmen. *Khanzadakh* and others were woken up by the noise outside and they rushed out to help *Qasimkhan*. The Maratha army blocked them and a day long battle took place. The reserved force of the Marathas fell on the exhausted enemy and a pitched battle ensued. The enemy was completely overpowered who later took shelter in *Dodderi*, a small fort, with a very less capacity for storage. For four days the Mughals resisted the Marathas, inspite of scarcity of provision. Water and food got exhausted and men and cattle started dying. *Masiri Alamgiri* points out the

miseries and helplessness of the Mughals in the face of scarcity of food and water. To top it the Maratha attacked from outside and obstructed the provisions from out of the fort. fed them with fresh food and brought new life into them.⁹⁰ Here in we came across the magnanimous nature of Santaji and disapproves Sarkar's version that he was barbarous to the vanquished army.⁹¹

The date of the battle differs as per Persian and Marathi sources. According to *Akhbarat*, which *Prof. Sarkar* considers more reliable gives the date of *Qasimkhan's* death as December 1695. *Madras diary* dated 5th December 1695 records 20th November to be date of *Qasim's* defeat.⁹² *Jedhe Sakavali* gives the date as after 5th January 1696, when *Qasim, Khanzada* were imprisoned in the *Dodderi* fort. Thus *Dodderi* must have been besieged before 5th January by the Marathas and *Qasim* might have died after 5th January. *Qasimkhan* was addicted to opium and for three days without it he died, gives one report, while another says the he died not wanting to show his face to the Emperor, hence he ended his life. The latter version is confirmed by the *Lavani*. (Folk song). See Appendix VII.

Khanzadakh preferred to surrender than losing his life due to starvation, hence sent for peace talks. The *Diwan of Aurangzeb* met Santaji and at the instance of the former the ransome was increased to twenty lacs of Rupees.⁹³

The Marathas took away all baggages and animals from the Mughals. The Mughal Sardars signed the bonds of surity and kept their relation as hostages. For two days Santaji allowed the Mughal soldiers to go.

Puttanna's work too deals with the details of the battle, but it also provides information about the after effect of the battle. Aurangzeb is stated to have sent *Dilawar Baksha* to avenge the miserable defeat at *Dodderi*. He

demanding a huge tribute from *Bharamappa Nayaka* which he must have refused. With the result the Mughal army destroyed few of the temples of the city. An inscription in *Nirtadi* in *Davangere tq*, on the north side of *Ranganath temple* reveals that in Saka 1619 (1697 AD) a new idol of Ahobal Narasimha was replaced since the earlier one had been desecrated and destroyed by the army of the Delhi emperor. *Bharamanna Nayaka* renovated the temple and reinstated the idol.⁹⁴ The temple must have been a very famous one otherwise the Mughals would have not been taken the trouble to travel 20 to 30 miles from *Chitradurga* to destroy this temple.

3.3.5 BATTLE OF BASAVAPATTANA - 1696 JANUARY :

Not content with the destruction of temples in the *Chitradurga* district of Karnataka after the miserable fate of his chosen army at *Dodderi*, Aurangzeb ordered *Himmatkhan* to proceed to *Basavapattana*. He left with one thousand cavalry to rescue the Mughal army from *Dodderi* and to punish the Marathas.⁹⁵ The Khan fell upon one of the divisions of *Santaji* on 20th January 1696. The latter's Karnataka foot Musketeers, the best marksmen in the Deccan had perched on a nearby hill ready to pounce. *Himmatkhan* drove his elephant straight and was hit on the forehead, which became fatal. He fell down unconscious into the howdah. Although the driver wanted to retire the captain of the contingent continued the war, and he too was hit and was carried off by the Marathas. The leaderless Mughals fell fighting and at midnight *Himmatkhan* succumbed to his wound. Three hundred of his men dispersed and fled to different places. The rest of the Mughals defended their fortification. The Marathas withdrew with huge booty.⁹⁶ *Himmatkhan* died on December 1695 - January 1696. *Santaji* continued to harass the Mughals, while *Hamidkhan* the new Commander marched on *Basavapattana* and drove away *Santaji* and his men. As per the letter of *Fort St George* dated April 14th 1696, it was rumoured

that a Mughal force under *Deedar Baksha* had proceeded from camp and had spread everywhere. Santaji scented this news and with his 15,000 force was ready to catch his prey near *Sira*. His aim was not to allow the Mughal commander to join with *Zulfiqar*.⁹⁷ He also tried to seize the treasure which was sent along with the army. He could not achieve either of these, because *Zulfiqar* took a different route. Santaji disappointed, fell upon Mysore in December 1696. The Kannada source *Chikkadevaraja Binnapam* states that the Mysore ruler defeated the Marathas.⁹⁸ Aurangzeb asked *Zulfiqar* to pursue *Santaji* into the Mysore kingdom. A letter of *Fort ST George* dated December 31st 1696, writes that the royal order had been to send *Deedar Baksha* to *Jingi* and *Zulfiqar* to Mysore to go after *Santaji*.⁹⁹ *Zulfiqar* marched on Mysore, but after learning that *Santaji* had already been beaten and driven out of Mysore, left for *Jingi*.¹⁰⁰ Meanwhile *Santaji* too left for *Jingi* to meet *Zulfiqar*. *Hamidkhan* went in pursuit of the Marathas. The war activity was thus shifted to *Jingi* and Karnataka became comparatively peaceful after 1696 July.

3.3.6 END OF SANTAJI :

After his heroic battles in Karnataka, swollen with pride, *Santaji* went to *Jingi* and claimed the post of *Senapati*, which had been given to *Dhanaji* in his absence. He challenged *Dhanaji*. *Santaji* openly charged *Rajaram* favouring *Dhanaji* and threatened to make and unmake the *Chatrapati*. He felt his victories at Karnataka have not been recognised nor appreciated. He felt humiliated. *Prahlad Niraji* was no more to mediate between the two. *Rajaram* dismissed *Santaji* and made *Dhanaji* as his *Senapati*. *Santaji* attacked *Dhanaji* at *Aywarkuti* and won the battle.¹⁰¹

Masiri Alamgiri graphically describes the battle and writes that even *Rajaram* was captured by *Santaji* and was released the next day to prove his point. Later he promised to be loyal to be *Chatrapati*. The internecine fights

between Santaji and Dhanaji continued. The former's hot temper, cruelty, disgusted his officers who deserted to Dhanaji's camp. The rest were either killed or wounded. Deserted by his army with few followers when he was camping at *Mhaswad*, he was murdered near *Shambu Mahadev* hill. His impudent nature must have led Rajaram to get rid of him. It is very unfortunate that Rajaram couldnot control this rebel who was an asset to the Maratha country. Thus after a dazzling military career met with an ignomious death. The date of his death differs as per different sources. According to *Masiri Alamgiri* it was between 3rd March 1698 - February 1699, ¹⁰² *Bhimsen* gives January 1698, while *Jedhe Sakavali* writes June 1697. Thus the Marathas under Rajaram in *Jinji* tried their level best to stem the tide of muslim on rush in Karnataka. *Jinji* was given up after a fruitless long drawn battle to *Zulfiqarkhan*. *Rajaram* escaped back to Maharashtra and continued the process of defending the Maratha Kingdom from Mughal attacks. The purpose of Karnataka as the second front was served. But with *Rajaram's* departure to Maharashtra Karnataka possessions were lost to the Mughals.

Conservation of Maratha Domain in Karnataka

3.4 Analysis of Political events (1680 - 1707 A.D.)

“Whatever there is, should be conserved, more should be acquired. The Maharashtra kingdom should be extended in all directions.” These words of Swami Ramdas were literally executed by the Marathas, after the death of Shivaji, the founder of the Maratha domain. Though Sambhaji often been misunderstood by some historians as a worthless successor of a worthy father, Sambhaji’s greatest achievement seems to be retaining the *Swarajya* in the teeth of a opposition from all quarters. The new king had enemies all around, the *Siddis* and *Portuguese* to the West, the indefatigable, resourceful Aurangzeb to the north, Bijapur and Golconda kings to the east and south and Mysore to South-East. Almost all were stronger than the teething Maratha kingdom. The Portugeuse not only expanded their territory but were bent upon forcible conversion of Hindus to Christianity. His own people, some in shining armour were opposed to him. Sambhaji never the less had the forethought to retain the Southern conquest. Neither he nor his successor Rajaram could retain every conquest in the South. Fights were going on all around and the political situation was fluid. By 1689 the area was conquered either by the Mughal or Mysore during the absence of Vyankoji from Bangalore. Yet the attempt by Sambhaji and Vyankoji to retain the Southern patrimony paid dividends as was witnessed during the flight of Rajaram to Jingi.

With Sambhaji’s death the scene of action shifted from Maharashtra to Karnataka and the Carnatic except Mysore whose ruler *Chikadevaraya* was an ally of Aurangzeb. The rest of the rulers and people of Karnataka helped Rajaram on his perilous escape from *Panhala* to *Jingi*. If not for the friendly people of Karnataka Rajaram would have met the same fate as that of his elder brother. The troops of Aurangzeb had spread everywhere on the routes of

escape. There were strict orders from the emperor to nab the fugitive. Rajaram's escape was made safe and successful but *Keladi Chenamma* and the *Sondhe Somashekhara Nayaka*. *Chennamma* had to suffer from two fronts for her benevolent deed. It caused her loss of territory and money. She paid the Mughals tribute to pacify them, on the other hand the Mysore ruler seized the territory of her kingdom, such as *Bagewadi*, *Harpanahalli*, *Banavar*, *Kadur* and *Sakerapatana* as a punishment for helping the Maratha cause. There are many references in literature wherein the Mysorians have criticised Keladi rulers and people for siding either with Bijapur or with the Marathas. They called the people of Keladi, "Eradu Keriya varu" (Ikkeri), "Sakhiyaru", "Gelatiyaru" (Effeminate), "Malenadina Gaudaru", (Heads of hillfolk). They would not condescend to call or respect them as kings but only as Gowda's or village chiefs and equate them with Barbarians (Kadu Janaru). On the other hand the Mysore ruler by making a treaty with Aurangzeb would had an upperhand in the Maratha inroads besides claiming and holding some Karnataka territory from the hard pressed Keladi rulers.

The period after the martyrdom of Sambhaji i.e. in 1689 had revealed that the latent power of the people or of a nation when roused by a leader like Shivaji, George Washington and Napoleon becomes irresistible. Of all the mass movements of the French revolution, Russian revolution, Spanish uprising crushed by France, the resistance by Maratha troops by Rajaram with the king on the run was unique in our history because it was successful in saving the infant state. It showed the Maratha mettle, their organisational capacity and their will to fight for their homeland. This was truly a mass awakening of ordinary people.

In their struggle against the mighty Mughals the Kannada kingdoms and the people greatly supported the Marathas. The monuments in and around

Bidnur reflect the good accord between the Marathas and the Kannada kingdoms. The victory tower at *Virbhadreshwar* temple in Keladi shows the sculpture of Queen *Chennamma* with *Rajaram*, while the *Parvati* temple at *Nagar* and the old record found from *Sringeri Mutt* in which is mentioned *Rajaram's* land grant to this temple proves the point. At *Bidnur* in Shimoga district outer sculpture of the two stone *Nandi* pavillions contain the figures of Maratha soldiers and Sardars on horse back and elephants respectively. They have typical Maratha head gear and dress which resemble the head gear and dress of the yadwad sculpture. The house at *Koppa* (Aramanekoppa) some ten kilometers from *Bidnur* is of historical importance because here *Rajaram* is said to have hid himself from the prying Mughal soldiers. This is another proof of Keladi generosity. The Sondhe rulers also provided monetary help to *Rajaram* during his escape to Jingi. The *Lavani* (folk song) of the Dodderi also speaks about of the help rendered by Chitradurga rulers for the Maratha cause.

Rajaram died in 1700 A.D and Aurangzeb hoped that it would sound the death knell of the Maratha power. But it was not to be. *Rajaram's* wife *Tarabai* rose to the occasion and gave hopes of succession to *House of Shivaji*. Acting as regent, *Tarabai* enthroned her young son *Shivaji II* and ably conducted the affairs of state. Her war strategy was striking as she carried our diversified battle outside Maharashtra. Though the Mughal took over forts after forts in Maharashtra the Marathas soon regained them with their guerilla tactics. In the South the Mughal armies were tired of the unending war with the corrupt generals in Jingi and in the South.

The Ghorpade's had settled in Karnataka in the days of *Shahaji*. There were Maratha states in the first flush of conquest in the South. Newer ones were added to these. The generals who made conquest began to govern them in the name of the House of *Shivaji*. *Mudhol*, *Dutwad*, *Bedak*, *Gajendragad*,

Sandur are some of the small states in Karnataka. In the heydays of Murarirao Ghorpade the family's position touched the Nizam's dominion in the North to *Sandur* in the West and *Tadpatri* in the South. He held important forts like *Madaksira*, *Koilkonda*, *Koppal*, *Penukonda* and *Gajendragad*.

Thus Sambhaji, Rajaram and Tarabai succeeded in conserving and adding to the conquest made by Shahaji and Shivaji. The Maratha hold over Malva and *Khandesh* in the North and Karnataka in the South with Maratha homeland in between was now the new Maratha dominion, which was never stable in boundaries and went on expanding. The Bedars of *Chitradurga* continued to help the Marathas against the Mughals. Together they plundered the countryside between *Krishna* and *Bhima* or *Raichur* to *Golbarga* and struck terror into Mughal camps which made Aurangzeb's life miserable. On February 20th 1707 Aurangzeb's long life ebbed away with disappointment and dejection. He couldnot crush the Marathas after the longest battle in the history of conquest by the Mughals. The emperor had come down to the Deccan 26 years back to destroy the Southern kingdoms of the enemies only the Marathas remained. The House of Shivaji fought till the bitter end and won.

Prince Muazzam successful in the war of succession assumed the title '*Bahadur Shah*' on ascending the throne in 1707 A.D. He realised the futility of the war with the Marathas and wanted a strong ally in the South. He released Shahu along with his family members. The ally was permitted to extract *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* from six Mughal provinces of the South. It was a diplomatic move to sow the seeds of dissension among the Marathas. Tarabai had already putup her son on the Maratha throne. *Shahu*, the claimant but the legitimate one had dreams of an empire like that of the Mughals, The Mughal - Maratha pact divided the two kingdoms of Satara and *Kolhapur*, the former headed by Shahu and the latter by Tarabai.

MAP IV



MAP - IV

RAJARAM'S JOURNEY THROUGH KARNATAKA IN JINJI.

The main sources utilised to trace Rajaram's journey from Panhala to Jinji via Karnataka are 'Rajaram Charitam' of Kesav Pandit 'Chitnis Bakhar', 'Ishwardas', 'Futuhāt - i - Alamgiri' and 'Masiri Alamgiri' of Saki, Mustaid Khan, 'Keladi Nrip Vijay' of Linganna, Jedhe Sakavali, Sivatatva Ratnakar of Basavraj, local traditions and architectural evidences found round about Shimoga and Chikkamagalur district of Karnataka (former Keladi Kingdom).

Rajaram started his journey from Panhala crossed river Krishna and probably passed through Gokak, Soundatti, Gadag, Lakshmeshwar. Then he had to cross the river Varada, tributary of Tungabhadra. Then he must have passed through Jora (Hira on the Tungabhadra as per Prof. Sarkar, Prof. Chitnis K.N. feels that Hira must be either Hirekerur or Harihar in Dharwar district). Once again he crossed the Tungabhadra and reached Hosur (Jedhe Sakavali's 'Vasur' can be identified as Hosur again as per Prof. Chitnis). Then he came to Honnali, in the Shimoga district. He accepted the invitation of the Keladi Queen and came to Bidnur and stayed at Aramane Koppa. From here, he came to Shimoga after crossing the river Tungabhadra at Gajnur. He stayed at Shivappa Nayaka's palace and sent the precious jewels through Girjoji Yadav to Jinji. From Shimoga he journeyed through Bore Nidahalli, (Yedehalli identified with Narasimharajpur) Aduvalli, Khandya Kalasa, Vasudhara (Vastar) and reached Bangalore. He is traced at Chennapattam and at Srirangapattam where he is supposed to have crossed river Kaveri and reached Vellore.

CHAPTER 3

Footnotes

1. (Tr by Elliot & Dawson Vol. VII P 306-08)
2. (Jedhe Sakavali Shivaji Souvenir P-25)
3. (E CXCB 32 P 205 Text P 250)
4. (S K PS, VOL III, P-144)
5. (A V C III P 97)
6. (P 75)
7. (SCS Vol.12 PP 55-56)
8. (SCS BISM Vol.2 Art 271 & 368)
9. (A letter from Jinji to Fort St George of Gopal Dadaji the English agent dated 16.9.1681, Cuda Vol.I Page 25 unpub Kamal Gokhale PP 238-259)
10. (Wilks Hist I P 98)
11. (E C III Sr.14)
12. (MAR 1935 PP 135,136, MAR 1942, P 98)
13. (C B, P 4)
14. (Hist of Mysore I, P 297, Hayavadanrao)
15. (Dutch records Vol 2, P1396)
16. (R.S.Aiyer Nayaka of Madura P 288), Jedhe Sakavali Shivaji Souvernir P27)
17. (Akhabarat, H A. Vol. V P 95)
18. (History of the Mahrattas, P 117)
19. (Sh ch vr san P30, It is of madv P294)
20. (C B, P 60)
21. (Annals, P 106-7, History of Mysore I 305)
22. (A V C, P 75)
23. (Wilks Hist, P 94, Footnote)
24. (Annals, I P 110. History of My, I 306)
25. (Mysore Dhoregal Purvottar II, Annals)
26. (Wilks, Imp Caze. My- Goors, P 21)
27. (Wilks I P 111)
28. (EC Vol IX, DB 31, P 66)
29. (QJMS 74 - 1983 P 202-204)
30. (A note on the Fauzdar's of Bijapur Karnataka, Pagdi, QJMS, 74 1983, P 203, 204)
31. (A H M P, P142)
32. (AVC III V 130)
33. (Madras Dairy of 1687)
34. (F R, Gopal Dadaji to Governor Chen P, dated 16.1.1686)
35. (S C P, P 33-34)

36. (FR ST G, Vol 30, PP 120-121)
37. (Ft.St. G dated 30.9.1688, Orme Vol 154 PP 17-18)
38. (E C Vol IX Db 31, P 66)
39. (P 59)
40. (Ke Nrip Vij 160)
41. (P 9-10)
42. (Dairy & Consultation book of 1689, R Ft 51, G, P 92)
43. (M A, P 429)
44. (Hist of Aurangzeb, Vol V, P 172)
45. (P 19)
46. (P 19, Rajaram Charitam)
47. (*Bendre* in Rajaram Charitam P 20, M A, P 431, K K, P 475-476)
48. (P 161.).
49. (P 394)
50. (P 161)
51. (Masiri Alamgiri. Sarkar H A Vol V, P 329, 331, 333)
52. (H.A. Vol V, P 173)
53. (P 162)
54. (Sarkar, House of Shivaji P 236)
55. (A Sundara Keladi Arasara Kalad Vastu Mattu Murti Shilpa, Govt. of Karnataka, Archeology & Museum Mysore 1986, P154)
56. (Tarabai papers Vol I, PP 180, 196, 201, 216, 217, 378, 478, 484)
57. (V26)
58. (Ke Nr.Vij P 161 82)
59. (Chitnis, Rajaram Bakhar, P 10)
60. (Jedhe Sakavali, Shivaji Souvenir PP 32-33)
61. (Baramahal records section V property 1915, P-1, Muddachari, P81)
62. (P 59)
63. (A History of the Marathas P 119)
64. (J.N. Sarkar Aurangzeb Vol V PP 23, 24)
65. (S.C.S. Vol 3 Letter no. 477, P 83)
66. (S C Vol 3 P 477, P 83 - 84)
67. (S C S, Vol 3, L 479, 482 P 85 dated 1696 July 4)
68. (S C S, Vol 3, P 481)
69. (Ibid P 482)
70. (Ibid P 483).
71. (scs Vol XII, No 46 P 26)
72. (Sarkar P 236)
73. (House of Shivaji, P235)
74. (MA,329, House of Shivaji P 235)

75. (J.S., P36, MA, P336, House of Shivaji P 236)
76. (K K,P 416, SCP, P 36 House of Shivaji says 1 lakh hon, P 226)
77. (III 266-269 House of Shivaji, P236, SCS, Vol X No 778, P 23 and JS, P 36)
78. (Fort St. George Diary, House of Shivaji P 236)
79. (Memoires Vol. III P 286-287, House of Shivaji P 237)
80. (House of Shivaji, P 238)
81. (S C S Vol XII No. 46 P 26)
82. (H.A., Vol V, P 41)
83. (A P Y, Vol. No. 4, P 6, G.T.Kulkarni, The Mughal Maratha relations)
84. (H.A., Vol V, P 42)
85. (M A PP 375 - 79 KK PP 428 - 35)
86. (S C P, P38)
87. (M.S. Puttanna, P 41)
88. (House of Shivaji, P 231)
89. (MA PP 375-79, KK PP428-33)
90. (PP 375 - 379)
91. (House of Shivaji, P 241)
92. (H A, Vol V, P 119, Footnote)
93. (K K P 433, 7 Lakh hon, S C P - 1 lac hon)
94. (EC XI, Davangere 165, G.S. Dixit, T.N. Shree Comme Vol P 639)
95. (M.A, P 379, House of Shivaji P 239)
96. (H.A., Vol V, PP 120-121, As per S C P, P 38)
97. (Records of Fort St George P 29)
98. (P 58-59)
99. (Diary & Consultation Book, P 166 Wilks History of Mysore I, P 114)
100. (A letter of January 19th 1696-97 from Madras library, Wilks, History of Mysore I P 114)
101. (Sardesai Marathi Riyasat, P 81)
102. (P 380)

E P I L O G U E

The topic of my research '*The House of Shivaji and Karnataka*' is divided into three segments. It covers three generations from 1636 to 1707 A.D. The first part deals with Shahaji, the founder of '*House of Shivaji in Maharashtra*' and also the founder of the short lived Maratha kingdom in the region of Karnataka. The second part deals with Shivaji, the *founder of Swarajya* in *Maharashtra* and the one who extended the same even in Karnataka. The third deals with Sambhaji and Rajaram who safeguarded the '*House*' from its complete destruction at the hands of the Mughals.

Shahaji nurtured thoughts of '*Swarajya*' right from his early years. He tried first in 1630 and then again in 1633, 1636 to overpower the Mughals. Both the efforts proved futile. But despite all odds he succeeded in creating favourable circumstances for his son Shivaji to establish '*Swarajya*' in Maharashtra. He strengthened the plan by sending Shivaji a band of his loyal and able officers like *Dadaji Konddev* and *Kanhoji Jedhe* to guide him during his early years. This fact is proved by *Radha Madhav Vilas Champu* and contemporary letters. His first plan of action was to bring about amity between the rebellious Shivaji and Adilshah of Bijapur. He achieved this by bringing about a treaty between the two in 1662. Thus he enhanced the position and prestige of Shivaji as the sovereign of an independent kingdom. After he realised his dream, he visited *Jejuri* in Maharashtra to fulfill his vow of donating a golden idol, signifying the consummation of his dream, visualised earlier in his life. These facts are supported by *R M V C*, *Shivbharat*, *Bakhars* and contemporary records.

In Karnataka Shahaji succeeded in establishing almost an independent kingdom of the Marathas. His later life of 28 years from 1636 to 1664 was very fruitful. Though under the Adilshahi's of Bijapur, he lived with dignity and

was referred to as a '*Farzand*' of the Sultans, as mentioned in the contemporary correspondence. *Adilshah* knew the worth of *Shahaji* as an intrepid warrior and as an able administrator. He had brought along with him Maratha Brahmin officers, good in accounts keeping. Hence most of the conquered territories in Karnataka were assigned to Shahaji. That he issued *Sanads* and acted independently of Bijapur court. This is confirmed by contemporary sources. The real cause for his captivity in 1648 as per *Shivbharat* was his ambition to become independent, with the help of other Hindu kingdoms in Karnataka. Thus his stay in Karnataka proved a good luck to Shahaji. He could fulfill his dream of having an independent kingdom in Karnataka.

His most important contribution was his continuation of Vijaynagar traditions in administration. He implanted Maratha officers, Marathi language and nomenclatures like *Deshmukh*, *Deshpande* and *Deshkulkarni's* etc. The inscriptions found in Karnataka which are purely in Kannada, speak of his administrative divisions, his revenue system, welfare activities, such as construction of wells, tanks and rehabilitation of deserted lands. In the midst of Muslim milieu he built up a Hindu court patronising scholars far and near.

The second part deals with Shivaji and Karnataka in which I have tried to analyse the influence of Karnataka over young Shivaji. The impact of Vijaynagar rulers, their ideologies, traditions, which must have helped in moulding him to be ^{an} enlightened king. The way in which the kingdom of Vijaynagar was established as a bullwork against foreign invasions and also to preserve our ancient traditions had its effect on Shivaji and its great rulers must have provided models for him to emulate. The idea of religious tolerance, respect to all religions, having a good accord with Muslim religious and the pious. In spite of his endless conflicts with them might have been in keeping with Vijaynagar traditions. Karnataka had been a training ground for Shivaji in

his formative years, then a sporting field for plunders in the Bijapur territories of North Karnataka and Canara coastal belt. Later he developed a grandiose plan of establishing his *Swaraja* over Carnatic, through his expeditions. He was spoken of having an idea of settling on the banks of *Tungabhadra* after dividing his kingdom between his two sons, but this was not fulfilled, because of his untimely death. One of his motto behind Karnataka expedition was to establish a vast empire in the Deccan, as a challenge to the Mughal empire of the North probably on the line of Vijaynagar, which had withstood the onslaught of enemies successfully.

He had worked on this strategy by appointing officers in all the conquered areas, building a line of fortifications all throughout the newly conquered areas in the South.

His state seal, his letters to *Maloji Ghopade* of *Mudhol* and yet another to Aurangzeb, condemning the reimposition of *Jeziya*, clearly bring forth the objective he was trying to attain, that was to re-establish a Hindu empire.

The third, '*Conservation of Maratha domain in Karnataka*' mainly deals with how Sambhaji and Rajaram conserved the Maratha hold in Maharashtra as well as in Karnataka, which their father had painstakingly built up. New material has come to light as regards Rajaram's relations with *Keladi* and *Sondha* rulers. The finding of the stone sculpture of Rajaram along with Keladi Queen, at *Keladi* and the temple supposed to have been built by Rajaram at *Bidnur*. The discovery of the hiding place of Rajaram at '*Aramane Koppa*' goes to prove the warmth the *Keladi* rules and local populace had for the Marathas. The *Lavani* (folk song) of *Dodderi* and the inscription of *Nirtadi*, too brings to light the help rendered by Karnataka chieftans to the Maratha cause for which they had to face.

The various sculptures of Maratha soldiers either on horse back or on elephant are found on the outer walls of *Nandi pavilion* situated on the outskirts of *Bidnur* fort. This confirms the theory of good accord between the House of Shivaji and the kingdoms of Karnataka Sans Mysore. Thus the rulers as well as people of Karnataka contributed in safeguarding the *House of Shivaji* against the Mughal onslaughts.

The findings of *Shivaji Mallammaji Samarotsava* establish the existence of good relations between *Tarabai*, wife of Rajaram and her Southern neighbour *Mallamma* of *Belavadi*. Their friendship goes back as far back as *Sambhaji's* reign (1680-89). *Tarabai* is supposed to have alerted *Mallamma* about a possible attack on her kingdom (Belavadi) by *Sambhaji*. Later *Tarabai* is said to have invited *Mallamma* to Kolhapur honoured her after hearing about the encounter between Shivaji and *Mallamma*. She also helped in erecting memorial on the outskirts of her kingdom in honour of both Shivaji and *Mallamma*. The existence of one such memorial at *Yadwad* is a mark of good accord between the great Maratha ruler and Chieftan of a small kingdom called *Belavadi*.

In this way I have tried to establish the historic relations between Karnataka and Maharashtra in the Seventeenth Century. By compiling all the new material found I have tried to give a comprehensive history of the Marathas in Karnataka from 1636 to 1707 A.D.

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APPENDICES

- I SHAHAJI'S COURT IN BANGALORE.
- II THE ADVENT OF ADILSHAHI ARMY IN KARNATAKA
- EXTRACTS FROM THE ELEVENTH CANTO OF
KANTHIRAV NARASA RAJ VIJAYAM.
- III DESCRIPTION OF YADWAD SCULPTURE.
- IV APPRAISAL OF SHIVAJI MALLAMMAJI
SAMAROTSAVA.
- V RAJARAM IN KELADI NRIPA VIJAYAM.
- VI ARAMANE KOPPA.
- VII SCULPTURES OF MARATHA SOLDIERS ON THE NANDI
PAVILION IN BIDNUR.
- VIII THE LAVANI [FOLK SONG] OF DODDERI.

APPENDIX I

SHAHAJI'S COURT IN BANGALORE

Jayaram Pindye, The author of *RMVC* and *Parnal Parvat Grahana Khyan*, hailed from Nashik in Maharsstra. He came to meet Shahaji, as the news of his patronage to literature had spread far and near. He writes that shahaji after accomplishing his work of consolidating his small kingdom spent his leisure time either in the midst of the learned or hunting. Though his earlier life was full of stress and strain, Bangalore provided him the much needed leisure and enjoyment in his last days.

His court "*Sabhamantap*" was called "*Navagaji*" glittered in the sunlight, yet giving a cooling effect to the eyes. The interior was decorated with beautiful carpet of fish and tortoise. The hall was adorned with the paintings of Martha *Kshatriyas*.

The city was prosperous was defended by a deep moat, strong ramparts and high towers adequate with numerous cannons. It was a well guarded city. Bangalore presented a very beautiful sight with its stately mansions, lofty and beautiful temples with lovely gardens, broad roads and the cool fountains.

Shahaji lived like a king, but without a crown, enjoying all the benefits of royalty like, patronising poets, authors, listening to classical music and solving puzzles (samasyas). His court was adorned by writers, singers and linguists.

The *RMVC* gives a list of 35 scholars hailing from different corners of India. To name a few, Raghunath Vyas, Thakur Shivdas, Narayan Bhatt, Guru Dwarkadas, Balabhadra Kavi. Poets from Gujarat, Punjab were patronised in the Bangalore court. Shahaji's eldest son Sambhaji from Jeejabai, Vyankoji from

Tukabai mohite and Koyaji son of his mistress, all of them had a good knowledge in fine arts, were adept in languages like Sanskrit, Prakrit. Koyaji had a daughter called *Nayakin* who got her music lessons from *kavishwar*.

Shahaji is described as protector of cows and Brahmins [Go Brahman Pratipal] patron of vedic culture (Vaidic Sanskriti Sangopan) preserver of temples, nourisher of Sanskrit, Marathi, Hindi languages (Sanskrit, Marathi, Hindi Bhasa Samvardhan) Despite the abundance of empty honorific titles, assumed by these petty potentates or those showered on them by sneaking favourites, there is no gain saying that Shahaji encouraged learning in this nascent period of maratha nationalism.

Already voices of renaissance were resounding in Maharashtra with the authority of devotional poetry by Jhaneshwar and other pioneers.

APPENDIX II

The Advent Of Adilshahi army into Karnataka Extracts from the the eleventh canto of Kantheerava Narasaraja Vijay

VERSE 28 The troops of Ranadhooli Khan marched creating ear splitting clamour like the kin of the ultimate universal destructive cloud of death or the passing whiff of the spoutting conflagration from the third eye of lord shiva.

29 Then , the Khans all, proud riders in mail and armed to the teeth,filled full with fervour,villians,one and all.

30 Seven or eight thousand horseman charging at random,with hue and cry, skies resoundig with neighing of horses and the clamour of crowds.

32 In litters modest and palanquins proud,when their modest spouses hied,the muslim lords made haste,weaving through the thick lines of cavalry.

33 Who can count the decoratred carts,with curved top fronts radiating brightness and drums resounding.

35 Innumerable carts harnessed heavy with cannon, meet the armed forces of the khan. I fail to describe the scene.

36 The turnout of thousands of carts filled with arrows,black gunpowder in leather bags, defies description.

37 Loads of lacs of missiles, defended by the well armed guides, in series of lines.

38 Who will deem insufficient the large casks of *Gangasagar* (or the liquor .tasteful) carried by mules ,bent double by the weight.

39 It is difficult to describe the sight presented by the heavily laden bullock carts of merchants carrying mail coats for soldiers, in wide spaces(possibly cleared of crowds)

40 Axes,hand cleavers, hoes, sharp crowbars and sickles held in hands,bamboo screens, huge baskets, plenty of day labourers and casual workers innumerable,

41 Threshers, iron smiths,throngs of vendors of different kinds of pancakes,baskets of sugar, pots of ghee and of other provisions for the soldiers.

42 All the might of Ranadhooli Khan's army contingents thus amply supplied, marching with bubbling enthusiasm and grand display made a bid to invade the Karnataka kingdom. Hear me describe the prompt.

56 the invading khan entered the rough country side ,captured cattle,created panic among the people,made large promises to those who sought surrender and marched ahead .

57 " I will smash the valour of Bangaloreans in no time ", so saying , he led his army unit to Shivganga and encamped there.

58 Then was heard the frightening fury of the Khan's attack .Meanwhile,Bangalore declared he would give a good fight ; he had cobbled a good fighting force.

59 If trees and shrubs are cut down , the battle will rage in the open . Hence the soldiers of the Turks (muslims) scaled the fortress.

60 The Khan then charged raining arrows , with force and fury , after getting up in the fortress.

61 Meanwhile , the *Gowda* got bewildered ,and in full faith ,allowed his son to be imprisoned . In anguish , he made over the fort to the Khan.

62 He surrendered the important places like the fort of Ramagiri to the villan, in violation of a soldiers faith. He left for *Kunigal* territory,where he was offered refuge.

63 The respected lords and ladies of *Ballalapura, Kolala, Bijjavara* in great grief,paid in full the demands of the Khan, and departed forthwith.

64 Those from *Chikballapur*, from the neighbouring *Holavanahalli, Hosakote, Yalahanka* lost face and left with the Khan.

65 The cheifs of *Bouvaloory, Hosavur, Kaggondi, Devandapuri, Sulibale, Sidlaghatta* also left.

66 Thereafter,soon,under the orders of the *Badshah*(sultan),Bangalore was ceded to Shahaji .then the Khan proceded on the sultans service.

After the defeat of Kempegowda, his feudatories surrendered to Ranadulla Khan bringing tributes with them. Lords and Ladies of *Ballalapura, Kolala, Bijjavara* felt depressed left, for their respective places.

Citizens of *Chikkaballapura, Holavanahalli, Yalahanka, Hosakote* lost face and accompanied the khan with all their forces.

The chieftains of *Bavaluru, Hosavuru, Kaggondi, Masti, Devandapuri, Soorabale, Sidilighatta* also accompanied.

Ranadhooli Khan summoned his army and the commandants and explained the tactics of war of Mysoreans as follows.-

The warriors of Mysore are quite unlike their compeer of neighbouring states. They are born to reap military honors. By day, and by night, try to be like them.

While marching on the road ,with oar, dagger, sword, you should stride nonchallantly secretively, with all possible caution

The strategy hinted in above verses warns the soldiers to fight with alertness like *guerillas*. That the soldiers of Mysore were adept in battle , another Bijapur general, Mustafa Khan has advised his soldiers in the sameway.

" In sudden bloody attacks, the Mysoreans are experts; we should be alert bending low, all the while guarding our front and fort."

"*Kaggole Kalaga*" in the parlance of those times among the kannada speaking people, is a surprise bloody attack and surreptitious escape; these are the main ingredients of guerilla warfare. This poem predates Shivaji's time of exploits, whose war tactics are famous and bespeak of guerilla warfare, called *Ganimi kava* in Marathi.

APPENDIX III

The Yadwad Sculpture - Proof of Reconciliation between Shivaji & Mallamma.

As mentioned earlier the *Yadwad* sculpture stands out as proof of reconciliation between Shivaji & *Mallamma*. The sculpture is carved on a slab of 3 ft high and 2 1/2 ft breadth, the top portion of it is semi circular. The slab is divided into two parts. In the upper half there is a profile of a rider on a horse back. The features of his face are worn out, but he is shown holding a sword in his right hand and shield in the left. His dress is the typical Maratha dress of those days, a long coat with a waist band and a pagota on the head. He wears a necklace. Since the face is worn out, his beard and moustache are not clear. The rider is flanked by three attendants holding in their hands the insignias of royalty like umbrella, staff and suryapan (abdagir). They are also in typical Maratha attire. Between two of the attendants there is a dog with forelegs raised trying to buck. The rider has been identified with Shivaji on the basis of his dress, beard and moustache and the presence of his favourite dog 'Vaghya' which followed him always and the existence of the monument at Yadwad because here it was that Shivaji was stationed on his way from Karnataka expedition. Even at Raigadh where Shivaji's Samadhi is situated there is his dog carved. (See visual 4)

The lower panel is divided into three horizontal divisions. In the left one, there is a person supposedly to represent, one attendant of *Mallamma*. She is shown holding a bow and arrow. Her hair is tied in a bun at the back of the head. She wears her saree tightly in a 'Virakachche'. It looks as if she is wearing an armour. In the right panel there is a man identified as an attendant, probably of Shivaji's. His dress is similar to that of the right hand he holds a pitcher, may be of milk. The central panel is significant as it describes the

reconciliation between Shivaji and Mallamma. Here a man is seated on a low seat. His nose is prominent and his expression in the eyes would remind one of Shivaji's. The man looks about fifty year of age. (If Shivaji's date of birth is 1628 then 1678 he is fifty years of age). He is shown dressed in dhoti and uparana. He has grown a belly which is visible from the portrait, which is not the case in any of Shivaji's other portraits. His beard and moustache are very clear. A small child is seated on his left thigh, his left hand clasping him, while in his right hand he is holding a cup containing probably milk, which was to be given to the child. The person to the left is Mallamma, the child's mother. She is dressed in a saree, her *pallav* covering her head. She is holding something in her right hand as if offering something to the man seated. In her left hand also she is holding some object which is difficult to identify. There is another woman in the central panel, an attendant to the right of the man seated, holding a pitcher in her right hand and a cup on the left and offering it to the seated man. At the top of this panel, few letters in Kannada are found, but they are illegible.

Strengthening this identification there is a sculpture in a village called *Lakmapur*, a mile from *Dharwad*. At the entrance to the village is a sculptured slab depicting a warrior, carrying in his hands a sword and shield. Near this slab is found a mutilated cannon, which the local people say, Sambhaji son of Shivaji is said to have left. Whether this is true or false, the fact remains that the people still remember the Maratha invasion of three centuries back. Thus the Yadwad sculpture "dramatised not only Shivaji's chivalrous nature, but its grateful appreciation by a noble heroine." (G.S. Dixit P 24, The description of the sculpture at Yadwad and at Lakmapur is taken from G.S. Dixit's article "New Portrait of Shivaji" from A.G. Pawar Felicitation vol pp 21 to 24).

According to 'Shivaji Mallammaji Samarotsav' Tarabai greatly helped in

the foundation of the hero stone. On the border of her kingdom in honour of *Mallamma* and she was informed about it. Mallamma seemed to have felt happy. **Prof Chitnis** feels that these sentences might have been inserted later on because since Mallamma was still alive, it cannot be true that Virgal which is normally built in honour of the dead could have been constructed in *Mallamma's* life time. After Mallamma's death the author or someone close to *Mallamma* must have inserted it. But the source clearly speaks of "*Mallammaji Yanchi Virakaladyotak*", meaning herostone in honour of *Mallamma*, a symbol of her heroism. Hence it need not be only after death, but when she was very much alive. *Virgal* are normally after the death of a hero as a mark of her or his heroism. There may be exceptions like the above one. *Virgal* might mean a stone describing the achievement or commemoration of heroic deed after the death of a person or when the person is still alive.

The genuineness of the Yadwad sculpture can be proved on the following points -

1. The presence of the Sculpture in Yadwad itself, where Shivaji had encamped before giving a battle to Mallamma.
2. Although the face of the rider on the horse is completely worn out so that the beard and moustache cannot be seen, but the profile looks like Shivaji's, his gait and personality, the dress, the head gear of the rider points towards Shivaji. In addition, the presence of his favourite dog convinces that the Rider on the horse is none other than Shivaji.
3. The middle panel in the lower part is true to Shivaji's likeness. His face is quite clear, with his prominent nose, beard, moustache. Only his dress is dhotar, the dress of the masses. G.S. Khare has no doubts in identifying him as Shivaji.

4. It seems the sculpture is rightly put up by *Mallamma* as a mark of reconciliation between her and Shivaji. *Tarabai*, according to **SMS** is supposed to have established *Virgal* in appreciation of *Mallama*'s heroism on the border of her kingdom. This may be one of them.

5. No other Maratha ruler seems to have come to *Yadwad* in this period, except Shivaji as confirmed by **SMS**.

6. The encounter between Shivaji and Mallamma, the subsequent reconciliation with her, the presence of *Yadwad* sculpture all these convincingly prove the point that Shivaji on his way back from Karnataka expedition, stationed at *Yadwad*, fought against *Mallama* at *Belavadi* in which Shivaji's forces were defeated and later the reconciliation was brought about.

APPENDIX IV

Appraisal of SMS

Tarabai of Kolhapur, the queen of Rajaram supposed to have announced in her court to write a true account of her great predecessor -- Shivaji. One of the work belonged to **Shesho Srinivasa** who wrote '*Shivaji Mallammaji Samarotsava*'. he was an officer in the Belavadi Kingdom . The work has two sections. The earlier one deals with Mallamma's early life education , Marriage with Ishprabhu of Belavadi, birth of their son. description of Belavadi Kingdom, its Administration etc. The second part deals with the battle between Shivaji and Maallamma and subsequent reconciliation. It further traces the friendship between Tarabai and Mallamma from the days of Sambhaji [1680 -- 89] till the death of Mallamma in 1739 AD.

The Shivaji Mallammaji Samarotsava has many defects . Prof. K.N.Chitnis points out a few.

1. That it is not in its original form. since it is a copy of the original.
2. It's copy might have been done during the British period. since it states that the copies belong to Belavadi Petha, Sampagaon taluka, Belgaum district. (The administrative divisions of the British period)
3. The original writer Shasho Shrinivas might have been under the patronage of Belavadi, hence the work is too favourable to Belavadi.
4. The writer must have written the work not immediately after the incident but sometime later, based on his memory.
5. The dates are wrong.
6. That it looks like the work written as a commemorative in honour of Hulimutt.

7. That there are many interpolations, especially the latter part, where the copies must have added the death of Mallamma in order to complete the story. In order to justify the date mentioned in the MS on page 76 . Formerly the date of the source was fixed between 1700 to 1708, because it contained reference to the death of Sambhaji (1700) and the death of Rajaram (1708). But the source doesnot refer to the coming of Shahu, nor the coup of Rajabai. Thus the copies by adding the death of Mallamma has pushed forward the date of the source to 1739. Though Samarotsava has many defects, it is too much exaggerative and partisan to Belavadi, which is usual with any Bakhars or biographies in India. But as long as facts are true and are coroborated by other sources, one can consider them as authentic.

The incidents mentioned in this work are very convincing e.g. Shivaji's visit to Hampi, his decision to stay back for good, in his later years in Hampi, his meeting with Mallamma, though exaggerative, it tries to project Shivaji in his true character as confirmed by the other sources. For example in the Bakhars, when Shivaji went into eccestasy at Srishaila. The fact that he repented for his or his men's mistake towards Mallamma and asked for forgiveness are all true to his nature. These qualities only enhance his greatness.

Prof.Chitnis's feeling that Tarabai might have felt unhappy after hearing SMS, being read by its author Shesho Shrinivas to her, since it highlighted the failure of her great predecessor, may not be true, because the work only brings to the fore the magnanimity and true greatness of Shivaji. So, instead, Tarabai must have looked at the situation, from this point of view and honoured Mallamma, who had been earlier honoured by shivaji.

Despite defects in language and exaggerations, the facts in the work donot go against the characteristics of Shivaji.

APPENDIX - V

RAJARAM IN KELADI NRIPA VIJAYA :

1. Rajaram had been defeated by the *Yavanas* (Muslims), who were considered brave in warfare. *Channammaji* gave him protection. This raised her prestige among the royalty of the time. It took place thuswise - I will give in detail the history of the *Arers* (Marathas called *Arers* in the Northern regions of Karnataka, the word is derived from "Aryas", because they speak Marathi, which is an Aryan tongue) the reason for the dispute between *Rama Raya* (*Rajaram*) and the Turks (Muslims)", was the new rising power of Marathas against *Turks*.

2. The *Poet Linganna*, gives the history of the *Rajput*, *Moghuls* and the Muslim kingdoms of the Deccan. Much of this is hearsay, some from tales of travellers and a little from diplomats or their relatives. But the story of Rajaram, who was on the run from the pursuing bands of Moghul myrmidons took place in his own kingdom and is of historic value.

3. After tracing the descent of the *Bhosles* to the royal family of *Udaipur Ranas*, the poet *Linganna* describes the rise of Shivaji and his establishment of the Maratha *Swarajya*. After his sudden untimely death, Sambhaji ascended the throne. After the murder of Sambhaji by Aurangzeb and the capture of the wife of Sambhaji and his minor son, the Emperor's daughter prevailed upon him to spare them, as she had loved Sambhaji. She refused matrimony and considered Shahu, son of Sambhaji as her own son.

4. Sambhaji's junior brother Rajaram ascended the throne and bravely encountered the forces of Aurangzeb. The ministerial commander of the *Moghuls Abdul Khan* was ordered to capture the Maratha king, with his huge

army of elephants, horses, cannon and foot soldiers. They laid siege to *Panhala*. Rajaram realised that it was no longer safe for him to stay any longer. He escaped from the blockade but a *Turkish* (*Linganna* uses the word “*Turks*” for “Muslims” presumably because the former constituted the major portion of the fighting forces, the same word is still current even now in the countryside). Search squad followed him closely. The fugitive with a few faithful followers, by a devious route reached the region of *Rani Channammaji* and sought refuge in her kingdom in piteous terms. He explained his perilous condition and the urgent necessity of reaching the extreme Southern tip of India, where his relatives were ruling. In hearing this the heart of this generous lady melted. She decided to give shelter to the suppliant according to ancient Hindu tradition at any cost. She called a meeting of her ministers and decided to allow Rajaram to pass through her territory in disguise. He passed through *Shimoga* after *Gajnoor* across the river. He footed woodland trails to *Borenidallii*, *Aduvalli*, *Kalas* and *Khandya*. Reached *Chandigad* through *Vasudhare*, according to the Queen’s instructions. The Moghul army invaded her dominion with a great flourish.

Rana Mast Khan and other *Vazirs* sent word to the Queen that she had harboured their enemy and that he should be surrendered to them. *Channammaji* pondered over the matter and admitted to them that Rajaram had passed through her dominion. It is now no longer in our Country. It is a fact he has left some of his clothes and valuables, where he rested, so saying, she produced before them Rajaram’s garments, valuables and horses and handed them over to the Commandant, But he was not satisfied and reported to the Emperor that the Queen had delivered the goods but not the person of Rajaram, which she had hidden. He also sent Rajaram’s possessions and the Marathas whom they had captured to the Emperor. The names of the captives are *Rupaji Bhosale*, *Santaji*

Jagdale, Manoji More and Sharjarao. Aurangzeb was furious and sent a big army with an elephant corps, cavalry and a large number of foot soldiers, under his son *Azamtara*, to conquer the state. *Azamtara* immediately invaded the state and marched near the *Madag* tank and pitched camp in the near by valley of *Bandi Timmaya*. He sent *Jan Nissar Khan* with a big force to proceed further. The latter captured the fort of *Anandpur*. Immediately *Azamtara*, in 1612 of Shalivahan era, in the year named *Shukla*, month *Vaishakh*, dark fortnight, arrived in *Venupur* (A.D. 1690). As he was about to capture the fort of that place, *Channammaji* departed thence and crossed over to the *Bhuvangiri* cross and sent plenty of foot soldiers to *Bidnoor* fort, which had been frequently attacked by Moghuls. She delivered a decisive blow to the enemy, when many soldiers met their end. She closed all the escape routes and smashed their fighting spirit. Thus through war and negotiations, she succeeded in stemming the Moghul invasion. Thus *Keladi* was protected, the refugee saved albeit temporarily from persecution and gained for herself acclaim from the princes and peoples of the time and of futurity.

But Aurangzeb, who had gone to *Brahmapuri* and *Galgali* came to know that Rajaram had slipped from capture by the skin of his teeth. He sent another huge army under *Zulfikar Khan*, son of his minister *Asatkhan*. This second expedition marched with much pomp and invested the fort of *Chand* (*Chandigad*). By this time, Rajaram had made good his escape to the *Rangini* fort. The Emperor was frantic. He captured many forts in Maharashtra, *Satara*, *Panhala*, *Vasant*, *Lakhani* and *Vandan*. But meanwhile Rajaram passed away. But his wife, the Queen appointed *Ramchandra Pant* as the Prime minister and began to rule, maintaining her sons, Shivaji and Sambhaji. But Shivaji proved false to his mother and inconsequence was put in prison, where he died. But the wife of Rajaram (Tarabai) continued to rule, with her son *Sambhaji*.

Aurangzeb was obstinate and bent upon ridding the empire of the Marathas. In this interval, *Piddinayak*, the *Talwar* of Bijapur had grown strong and began to seize the territories formerly belonging to the erstwhile Bijapur king (now under the Moghul rule). Aurangzeb stopped in his *tact* to crush *Piddinayak*. He captured *Sagangiri* of the Nayak. But his illness waxed, while en route to *Ahmedabad*, from where he intended to appoint strong deputies to different regions, in view of the developing differences among his heirs. He appointed Shah Alam for this region, Northern to Azartar and the *Bijapur* and *Bhaganagar* (Golconda) to *Kambaksh*, to his daughter he willed one fourth of the revenue from the conquered Maratha kingdom. Thence forward, the system of *Chouthai* or the Quarter came into vogue to benefit the Marathas.

APPENDIX - VI

“Aramane Koppa” (Hamlet adjacent to the palace)

Bidnur was once the thriving capital of the *Keladi* rulers. Now the remnants of the former glory are visible only in relics. *Nagar* or *Hale Nagar* (Old city) as it is called now was the former *Bidnur*, 17 k.m from *Hosanagar*, a taluka H.Q in *Shimoga* district of Karnataka. This township is full of relics reminiscent of a once busy and rich capital.

Rajaram was supposed to have hidden by Queen *Chennamma* of *Keladi* when the former asked for shelter being pursued by the Mughal army. There is a building called “*Aramane Koppa*”, some 7 km from *Nagar*, in the interior, amidst trees and bushes. (V-11). The locals believe that Rajaram was kept here in hiding. Though from outside, the house gives the impression of a normal or ordinary residential place, but it has all the features of entrance, living, hiding safely with escape routes, while in hiding. The features of the building show it was carefully built for royalty or nobility, to shield a person from the populace or outside enemies. Such other buildings might have been built in the days of yore with subterranean passages for Indian rulers to escape when pressed by superior forces.

The House is lengthwise with the main open *Verandah*, then a closed pavilion (V-12) which does not have windows and is dark. There is small cupboard in the wall, when opened, it reveals a double wall and enough space for a man to get into the secret passage. (V-13/14) Then there is the wooden pillared hall which is bright as it has windows to the sides. The left is god's room, which has a delicately carved wooden door.(V-15) It is said that below the place where God's are kept there was an exit to go out. But now it has been closed. To the extreme right of the pillared hall has a staircase, which

leads to another pillared hall on the first floor. (V-16) As soon as one enters into the pillared hall either in the ground floor or upstairs one is deceived into believing that there are no side rooms in the left corner of the entrants. There side rooms have exits from one to the other and the last room on the right side has a window which stands on 2 hinges on one side so that the entire window with the doors can be brought out allowing the escaper to jump out and escape. (V-17/18) The house looks outwardly like any other one, without giving any clue of its secrecy. Strange to say there is a small toilet upstairs on the first floor, enclosed with a small door.(V-19) Thus it appears as if this royal house was specially built for hiding and escaping. It is no wonder that Rajaram might have stayed here and escaped to *Jingi* via *Shimoga*, *Bangalore*. This royal house might have been a sprawling one, but now only the middle portion of the house is intact. The front and the rear parts being burnt in 1971 due to fire. This historical building has passed into the hands of descendants of the keepers, appointed by the then rulers of *Keladi*.

APPENDIX VII

Sculpture of Maratha Soldiers in Nandi pavilion at Bidnur.

In course of my visit to Bidnur Mr.Ashok Hedle attached to Keladi museum showed me two nandi pavilions on the outskirts of Bidnur Fort lying in the paddy fields.It is known that the battle between Queen of Bidnur and the Mugal army took place in the vicinity of Bidnur . The sculptures on the Nandi pavilion are a testimony to this .The sculptures are of soldiers on the horse or elephant backs. The head gear appears to be that of the Marathas.

The Bidnur Queen had to face the Mugal attacks due to her help and shelter given to Rajaram, The Maratha Chatrapati. The Maratha soldiers must have helped The Queen in stemming The Mugal tide. In memory of that the local people under the royal patronage must have carved these sculptures. It only affirms the intimate relations which the Marathas and Kannadigas held during that period.[See the visuals - 21 - 27].

APPENDIX VIII

THE LAVANI (FOLK SONG) OF Dodderi

The *Lavani* (folk song) of *Dodderi* is an important source material which corroborates Persian sources like *Masiri Alamgiri* and *Muntakhabullaba* about the *Dodderi* battle which took place between the Marathas and the Mughals.

The authenticity and the significance of the *Lavani* of *Dodderi* can be brought forth in the following lines.

The person who wrote the *Lavani* was familiar with the place of the incident, officers, chieftans, *Bharamappa Nayaka* was the most powerful of all the *Chitradurga* clan, the *Lavani* calls him fiery *Bharamendra* - fire to his foes. His minister was *Guntu Mallappa* and *Bommanna* was his commander. The scribe calls himself as the prodege of *Sampige Sidda*. (*Varakumar*) There is a temple of *Sampige* Siddervara in the fort of *Chitradurga*, who is a patron God of the chieftans. It was constructed during *Vijaynagara* period. The writer must have been in the court of the chieftan and it concerned the local history, the *Lavani* is prevalent among the people of *Dodderi*.

The *Lavani* does not mention the Marathas, since the chieftans of the *Chitradurga* were at logger heads with the Mughals. According to Persian sources the *Chitradurga* chieftan joined the Marathas to partake in the loot. But the *Lavani* gives a different reason for *Chitradurga* being pitted against the Mughals. It says the chieftan never paid tribute to the Mughals and planned to oust them from the Deccan. So sided with the Marathas. The *Lavani* clearly states the circumstances in which *Qasimkhan* died, trapped in *Dodderi* fort. He

did not want to face the angry *Badshah* for his ignominious defeat at the hands of the Marathas. Hence he took poison and committed suicide.

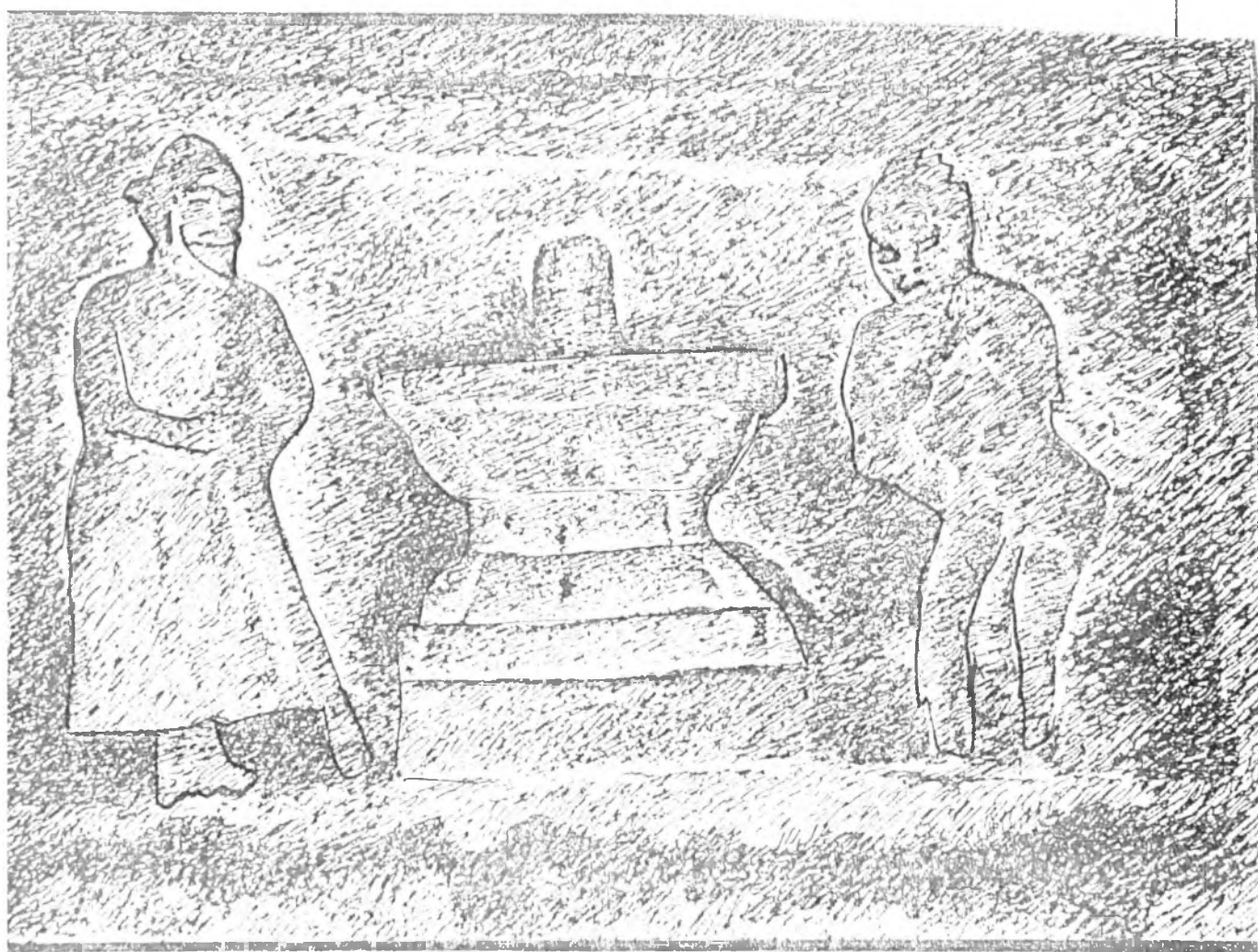
Although it is difficult to interpret all the words in the *Lavani*, yet it helps us in knowing the dress and ornaments of the contemporary soldiers.



V1 : Tomb of Shahaji at Hodigere



V2 : Shahaji's ashes were laid to rest here at Hodigere



V3 :

Shivaji praying before shivalinga in
Mallikarjuna temple of Srishaila



Sculpture of Shivaji on horse-back in Yadwad.
Panel I (See the Appendix No. III)



Shivaji with Belavadi Mallamma.
Panel II



V6 : Bidnur Fort



V7 : Gateway - Bidnur Fort



V8 : Parvatamma Temple



V9 : The Deity

• Kadal of Official record of Shingeri mutt
which testifies the building of
Parvati Temple by Rajaram



V11 : "Aramane Koppa" a palatial house of Bidnur
(See Appendix No. VI)



V12 : Ground floor pillared hall



V13 : Cupboard with a secret passage



V14 : Secret passage continued through the walls



V15 : Pooja room on the left side of the pillared hall



V16 : Pillared hall on the first floor



V17 : Window on one of the side rooms
which stands on one hinge & can be removed



V18 : Another view of the window



V19 : Toilet on the First Floor



V20 : The Nandi Pavilion. Bidnur
(See Appendix VII)



V21 : Sculpture on the front wall
 of the pavilion,
 Matatha soldier on the elephant



V22 : Sculpture on the front wali
 of the pavilion,
 Matatha soldier on the elephant



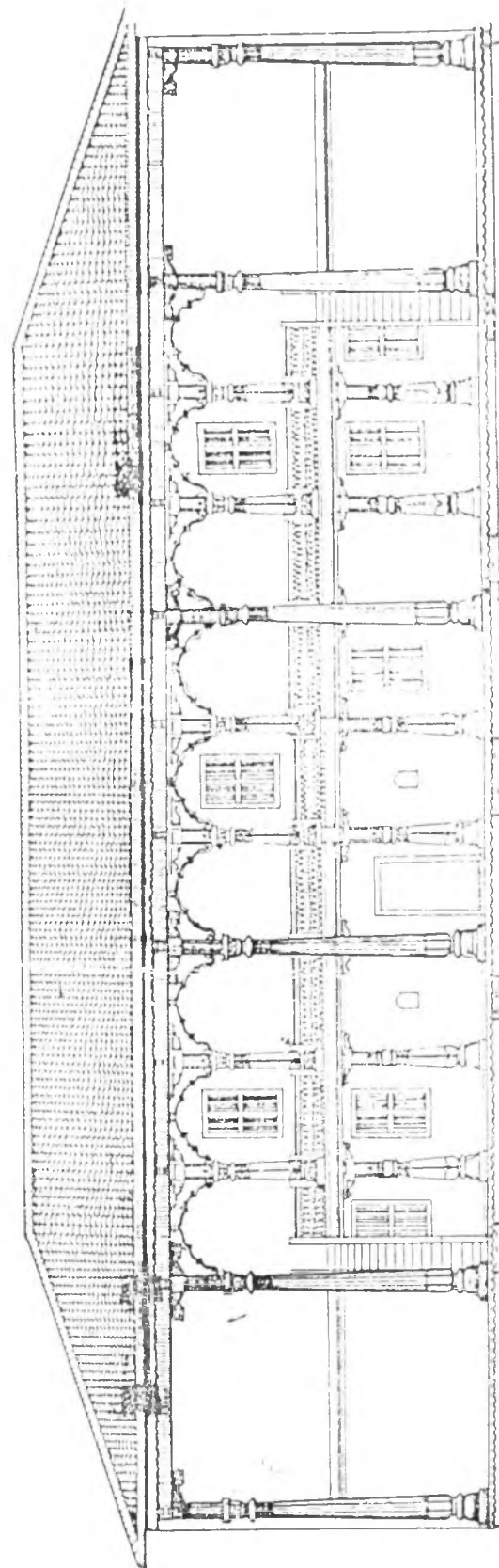
V23 : Sculpture of a maratha soldier on horseback
in yet another nandi pavilion



V24 : Sculpture of a maratha soldier
on horseback in a different pose



V25 : The sculpture of Rajaram with Keladi Chennamma on the victory tower in the Vivabhadreshwar temple, Keladi



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Shivappa Nayaka's palace at Shimoga after conservation.